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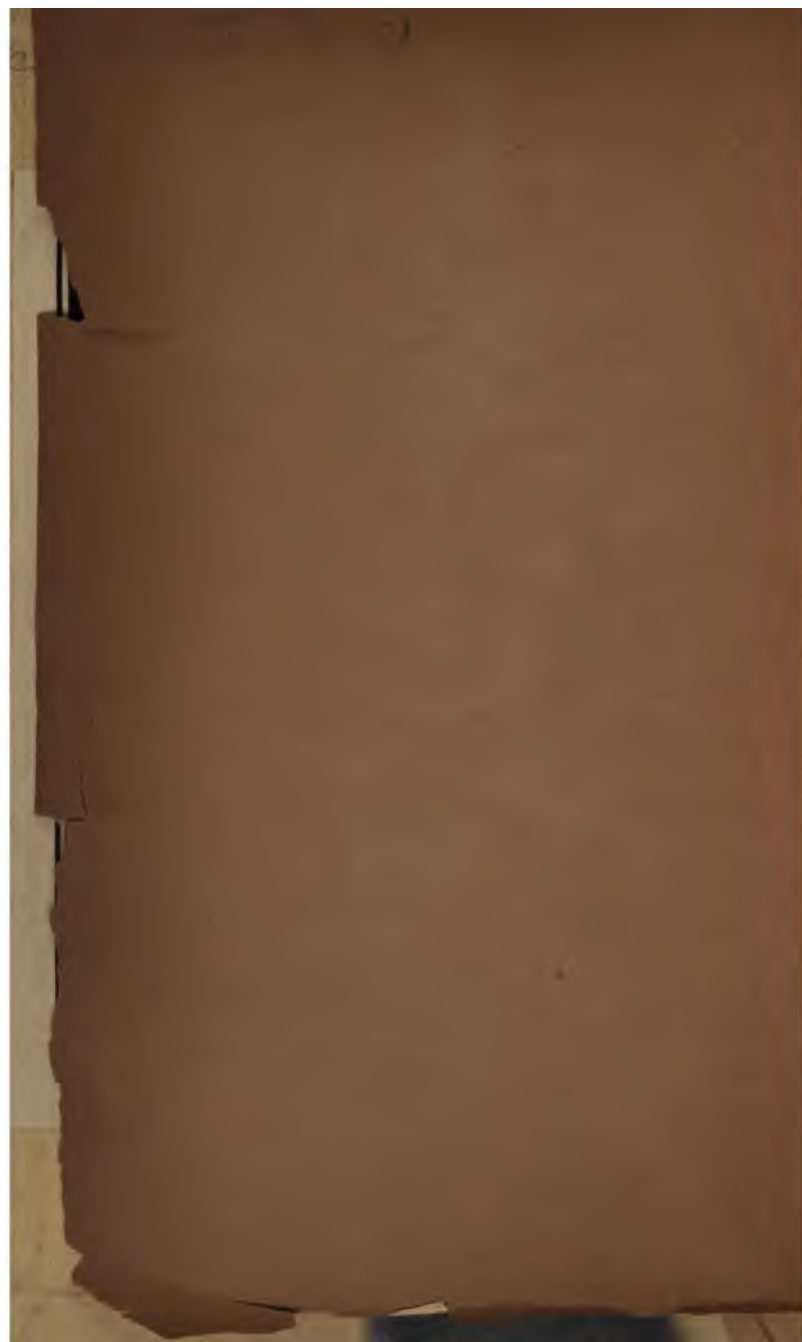
E.G. STILLMAN, '08, M.D.

JAPANESE

COLLECTION



J. Stillman



Colorphobia

AN EXPOSURE OF THE

"WHITE AUSTRALIA" FALLACY.

BY

GIZEN-NO-TEKI.

*"For sense, they little owe to frugal Hear'n—
To please the mob, they hide the little given."*

SYDNEY :

B. T. KELLY, 47, 49, 31 ROWE STREET.

1903.

100 2021 10



- R. G. REILMAN



TO THE
AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY,
NOT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THAT PARTY
IN PARLIAMENT,
BUT THE MANY SINCERE, THOUGH DELUDED,
VOTERS,
WHO, THROUGH LACK OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE,
HAVE PUT THEM THERE.

"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Luke, xxiii., 34.

“Reading is seeing by proxy—is learning indirectly through another man’s faculties instead of directly through one’s own faculties. . . . We smile when told that savages consider writing as a kind of magic, and we laugh at the story of the negro who hid a letter under a stone, that it might not inform against him when he devoured the fruit he was sent with. Yet the current notions about printed information betray a kindred delusion: a kind of magical efficacy is ascribed to ideas gained through artificial appliances, as compared with ideas otherwise gained. And this delusion, injurious in its effects even on intellectual culture, produces effects still more injurious on moral culture.”

Herbert Spencer.

STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY.

PREFACE.

When a daily newspaper reaches such a stage of material prosperity as to warrant its proprietors in doubting whether their statistics of circulation will be believed by the public, unless corroborated by some one else, it has (no doubt, unconsciously) made several interesting admissions.

For example, there is the peculiar circumstance that while so comparatively unimportant a statement as that so many copies have been sold is deemed to require proof before acceptance, the much more serious statement that so many persons hold a certain opinion on a certain subject is expected to be believed without question.

It would require a veritable Don Quixote to tilt at the windmill of modern journalism ; but an examination of its materials and archi-

ture, from a safe and respectful distance, may perchance be undertaken without much presumption or too much danger.

It has often been said that what one man writes a thousand men think; and this may be true. But the thinking does not depend upon the writing; for, even in the terms of the saying, the one man does but give expression to the existing thoughts of the thousand. The fact seems to be, however, that just as a man is more sure that he sees a star (or a rat) if some one else sees it, so he is more confirmed in what may theretofore have been an unformed opinion if he finds something like it in print. And in much the same way as one feels a sort of respect for the judgment of another who pays him a compliment, and may even seek for an opportunity of agreeing with the bestower of it upon some other subject which does not conflict with the compliment (in order, as it were, to strengthen the force of the original gratifying remark), so the reader of a newspaper or a book, who finds therein some sentiment with which he agrees, will be disposed to be swayed in the direction of other sentiments, emanating from the same

source, but upon which he has hitherto formed no definite opinion.

Thus it will be seen that the editorial conductors of a daily newspaper with a large (and properly certified) circulation, become the possessors and the wielders of great power in the formation of what is termed "Public Opinion." There is the power of suggestion, combined with the power of suppression; which, when exercised together in any particular interest, make a force that is well nigh irresistible. If the matter be one that is to be definitely and irrevocably decided upon at some special time—such as the election of a certain man, or certain men, to certain positions, or the committal of a country to some particular form of constitution—like federation—the force exerted becomes absolutely irresistible. For, by the time that events may have proved the choice made to have been injudicious or injurious, the opportunity for profiting by such experience has disappeared; and all that remains for those to do who may have found out, too late, that they were induced by "the press" to use their franchise foolishly, is to lament their own lack

of judgment, and form virtuous resolutions not to be so misled in the future. But, as for everyone who makes a discovery of this character, and acknowledges it, there are usually several ready to seek for scapegoats for their shortcomings, the newspaper, in self-defence, gladly takes on the contract of providing these. And thus the edifying spectacle is presented of, in the first place, a newspaper using its influence to induce its readers to adopt a certain course, and then, when the consequences prove awkward, exerting all its power either to change the subject, or to find some other explanation of the result.

It is a misnomer, however, to term the sentiments which are called into being by newspaper writers by the name of "public opinion." Indeed, it is questionable whether, in the true sense of the word, there is such a thing as "public" opinion at all. Opinion is "the judgment which the mind forms of any proposition, statement, theory, or event, the truth or falsehood of which is supported by a degree of evidence that renders it probable, but does not produce absolute knowledge or

certainty." This is essentially an *individual* mental operation. "*Quot homines, tot sententiæ.*" The more capable a man is of forming an opinion, the less likely is he to be swayed by the statements of others, excepting in so far as they consist of evidence which may assist his mind in forming a judgment. And the more a man is influenced by opinions expressed by others, unsupported by evidence, the less capable he shows himself to be of forming an opinion of his own. Those persons, therefore, who are accustomed to form what they are pleased to call their "opinions" from the leading columns of their favorite newspapers, and whose conversation upon public matters consists of paraphrases or repetitions of leading articles, are simply persons who, from long disuse of it, have at length lost the capacity to form an independent judgment upon anything. They constitute the element of fickleness and uncertainty in all public and political movements. They cry "Hosanna!" one day, and "Crucify him!" the next; and the man who would appeal to their reason has no chance against the demagogue who appeals to their passions or prejudices.

But it is not intended here to imply that newspaper writers deliberately set themselves to the task of misleading their readers. To affirm that some do and some do not, is only another way of saying that they are all human; with human limitations, aspirations, virtues and vices. And if, behind the editorial "we," the reader could but be induced to see, not an inspired or infallible being, but merely an individual, good, bad, or indifferent, as the case may be; and, if this individual's pronouncement were judged upon its own merits solely, a marked advance would assuredly be shown in the development of human intelligence.

Nor are all newspapers alike in their methods of conduct, actual or professed. There are some recognised organs of particular policies which make no pretence of allowing controversy in their columns; while others take a higher stand, and, in the interests of fair play, are popularly supposed to be willing (within reasonable limits, of course) to publish correspondence on any side of a question of public importance, provided the contribution be couched in proper terms, and the contributor be a person whose acquaintance

with the subject gives him an undoubted right to be heard. And if, in addition, the correspondent signs the letter with his own name—disdaining a *nom de plume*—the insertion of the letter becomes almost a matter of certainty. So much so that if, either in the editorial or correspondence columns of a first class newspaper, statements are made which are likely to have an effect upon an important matter of public policy, and these statements remain unchallenged or unanswered, the inference (drawn from the ordinary practice of the paper on such occasions) is that they have not been answered, because they are unanswerable. Consequently, for a newspaper to receive correspondence from a reputable source, upon an important matter of public policy, and refuse to publish it, is to exercise its power of suppression.

It is because this suppression has been practised in the case of the discussion of the "White Australia" question, that the necessity has arisen for the present effort.

There are two newspapers in Sydney, one weekly and one daily, whose rancour on this subject (and particularly with regard to the Japanese) is very great. In the case of the

weekly paper the attitude taken is consistent with its general policy. There was perhaps little cause for wonder that a respectful letter, signed by a well-known Japanese merchant, in reply to an article which sought to inflame its readers against the Japanese on absolutely false and misleading grounds, received an honored place in its waste paper basket.

But in the case of the daily paper, the bitterness and malice of its tone whenever it refers to the Japanese, combined with its refusal to print a respectfully written and signed protest against one of its most ungenerous and unjustifiable diatribes, is so out of harmony with its usually courteous and fair line of action, as well as so inconsistent with its general liberal policy, as to suggest the existence of a strong personal bias on the part of someone who is using the power which access to the editorial columns gives him for some unworthy end.

But, be that as it may, the fact remains that one side only of this question has any chance of being presented to the public through the medium of the newspapers.

Consequently, if the other side is to be presented at all, it must be by means of an independent publication such as this.

And, as the matter will be admitted by most people to be of sufficient importance to call for due consideration in all its bearings, I shall endeavor to present it in some of its principal aspects, in the hope that it will receive the careful attention of all well-wishers for the future of Australia.

GIZEN-NO-TEKI.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA,
JUNE, 1903.

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"Greatly changed circumstances, from which there is no escape, fail to produce adaptation; because they produce death. Men having constitutions fitted for one climate cannot be fitted to an extremely different climate by persistently living in it; because they do not survive, generation after generation. Such changes can be brought about only by slow spreadings of the race through intermediate regions having intermediate climates, to which successive generations are accustomed little by little."

Herbert Spencer.

STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" IDEA.

A little more than 100 years ago, there was not a white man in the whole of Australia or Polynesia. The entire population was black ; not accidentally black, but black in accordance with the laws of ethnology, geography, and climate ; not uniformly black, but shaded in accordance with the latitude of residence ; darkening in shade as the Equator was neared, and lightening in the direction of the South Pole.

So far as Australia is concerned, the aboriginal population has practically disappeared, having succumbed to the refining

influences of "white" civilization. The history of their gradual disappearance, if it contained anything like a faithful account of the methods employed to bring about the result, would not make very inspiring reading. But it forms no part of our present purpose to appeal to the Christian conscience in this matter. There is no weapon in the whole army of satire or reproach that would not be blunted beyond repair in an attack upon a substance so hard. The morality of the "White Australia" movement is beyond the pale of discussion.

Still, natural laws have a habit of asserting themselves in spite of the puny attempts of Podsnappery to ignore them ; and, if certain wheels grind but slowly, they grind exceeding small. And the obvious fact is that, Australia having been depopulated of its aborigines—who were black—without appreciably affecting the climate, it has been found impossible to carry on certain industrial enterprises in various parts of the country without taking steps to replace them. It is a revolutionary thing to suggest in Australia at the present time, but it seems as though the creation of men with

dark skins was not altogether a mistake on the part of Whoever was responsible for it.

Indeed, the color of a man's skin (to anyone who can contemplate it without a prejudiced shudder, or the pious muttering of some protectionist or Trades Union formula for exorcising a diabolical foreign competitor) is but a geographical indication of the man's origin, and predicates the possession of powers and abilities that can be put to their best use in certain localities.

It is at this point that the protectionist politician appears upon the scene, and paints a vivid and scarifying picture of what will happen to Australia unless white men insist upon the privilege of monopolising every avenue of employment, no matter how menial or arduous. Special attention requires to be drawn to this aspect of the question, for the arguments used in support of it all belong to the sophistical and fallacious stock in trade of the protectionist.

But to object to the employment of "colored" labor solely on account of its cheapness, and to regard the colored man merely as a beast of burden, or a machine,

would be insufficient for the purpose. The argument would be exactly on all fours with that which is still used by many persons against the employment of horses, or the introduction of any description of labor-saving machinery. And to carry it to its logical conclusion would be to deny the possibility of increasing the sum total of human happiness by intelligently utilising the forces of nature in the production of the essentials for the satisfaction of human wants. If the colored man, viewed simply as a cheap productive force, is to go, then the steam engine, the railway, the telegraph and every mechanical apparatus must go too.

Consequently the necessity arises for bringing some other charge against the colored man, and to represent his existence among us as a danger to the alleged purity of our race, and a menace to our political, national, and social institutions. Racial prejudice is appealed to, and any amount of misrepresentation indulged in, in order to obtain to the doctrine of exclusion the support of those who would reject the proposal upon industrial or economic grounds alone.

The existence of political conditions in Australia under which it has been possible for tactics of this kind to succeed, and to result in the inauguration of a “White Australia” policy, is due to circumstances in the political history of the country which it would be interesting to consider for a while.



“ Hain’t we got all the fools in town on our side ? and ain’t that a big enough majority in any town ? ”

Mark Twain,

HUCKLEBERRY FINN.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENESIS OF THE LABOR PARTY.

Some dozen years ago in New South Wales it became evident to every careful observer of the signs of the times that political matters were approaching a crisis. For years previously, successive Governments had been carrying out extensive public works with borrowed money, and the industrial activity consequent upon these operations bore some semblance to real prosperity while it lasted. The chief result, however, was a land boom, which, at the time of which we speak, was nearing its collapse. The fiscal policy was nominally free trade; but the actual tariff was such a monstrous parody upon free trade

principles that no decent free trader could defend it, while the protectionist advocates made voluble use of its anomalies as arguments in favor of protection. No one has yet been able to discover the logic of such an attitude; but then logic was never a particularly strong feature of protectionism.

Nevertheless it has always been tolerably easy to persuade a dissatisfied people that a change would be to their advantage, and that circumstance was in favor of the protectionists. "Look at the United States of America!" and "look at Victoria!" they used to cry, by way of punctuating the insults to common sense which they called their arguments; and so many who looked in those directions pretended to see what their blind guides described, that an impression grew in political circles that protection was coming. So strong indeed was this impression, that several prominent free trade politicians became converted, and were received with open arms into the protectionist camp, and even honored with positions in the front rank of their army. Chief among these were Mr. (now Sir) Edmund Barton and Mr. (now Sir) George Dibbs.

But notwithstanding this wonderful accession of strength, the protection that was expected did not arrive. Chinese, Japanese and Hindoo bogeys, of terrible aspect, were raised and flourished in vain. For the element that had to be reckoned with was the growing influence of the Land Tax doctrine, which received a great stimulus from the visit to Australia of Henry George, and the wide dissemination of his economic writings. The fact that he addressed himself principally to the laboring classes, and that his sympathy with them was known to be sincere, acted as a tremendous counterblast to the perfervid oratory of the protectionists. And evidences soon became pretty numerous that the representations made of the prosperity of the working classes in America and Victoria were at variance with the facts. And the Land Tax party, who constituted the radical wing of the free trade army, soon made their influence felt upon the so called free trade policy, by demanding the repeal of the anomalous duties which disgraced the tariff, and the substitution therefor of a tax upon land values.

It was just about this time that the political Labor Party came into existence. The appearance of the Labor Party as a factor in Australian politics was the perfectly natural outcome of the circumstances and conditions of the time. The formation of Trades Unions had given those workmen who belonged to them a practical insight into the value of co-operation, association and organisation. They had found that at election times they represented a force which contending parties were anxious to propitiate. And as the protectionist orators were in the habit of addressing their alleged arguments principally to working men, promising, as the results of the adoption of their policy, increased wages and permanent employment, it is perhaps a matter more for regret than surprise that many of the leading men in Trades Union circles were advocates of restrictive tariffs, and that in this particular they had a strong following.

And when it became the duty of a so-called free trade Government to take vigorous measures for the preservation of public order during the great strike of 1891 (which strike

was also made the excuse by the then Colonial Treasurer, Mr. (now Sir) Wm. McMillan, for not fulfilling his promise to introduce a land tax) this was represented as additional evidence of lack of sympathy with the workers on the part of the free traders.

On the other hand, however, the radical freetraders were able to show that the protectionists were the most determined opponents of the land tax, in which the laboring classes were beginning to believe ; and the collapse of the land boom in Victoria brought about a state of things in that colony which ruined it altogether as a protectionist example of a working man's Paradise.

There is little reason to doubt that if, at this juncture, the free trade leaders had had the sense and the honesty and the courage to put their professed principles into practice, and had formulated a real free trade policy, including a tax on land values, without exemptions, they would have scored a victory in spite of the defection of quite a number of their conservative supporters, who never were really more than nominal free traders.

But Sir Henry Parkes missed the opportunity, and excused himself for leaving the tariff alone by bringing forward a proposal for the Federation of the Colonies, on the plea that there was no necessity for altering the tariff in one colony, in view of the prospect that it would soon be a matter for discussion by representatives of the whole of Australia. This suited the conservative free traders, who were anxious to avoid the land tax; it also suited most of the protectionists, who thought they saw a probability of the whole of Australia adopting a protective tariff, by reason of the minority in which the representatives of New South Wales would find themselves in a Federal Parliament; but it did not suit either the real free traders or the labor party.

Indeed, it might be said that the political situation at the time resolved itself into a struggle between the radical free traders and the protectionists for ascendancy in the labor party.

The expedient was at length hit upon that, in that party, the fiscal question should "sink," for the purpose of adopting a

platform of measures, supposed to be for the benefit of labor, upon which protectionists and free traders in the unions could unite, in order to return representatives to Parliament pledged thereto.

This proposal to "sink the fiscal issue" marks a distinct stage in the political degeneracy of Australia. Its absurdity and impossibility are so manifest to anyone having the most elementary acquaintance with the first principles of political economy, or of representative government, that its adoption predicates a mental reservation on the part of every intelligent being who voted for it. In fact, to the free trader, "sinking the fiscal question" must have meant sinking protection, and to the protectionist, sinking free trade. Thus the political Labor Party started its career pledged to an understanding that was a palpable sham, and that must have been subscribed to by its formulators with their tongues in their cheeks.

But the effect of the presence of a party in the Legislature, pledged to an impossibility, and consequently compelled to posture upon

other matters in order to divert attention from the grotesqueness of their position, had a demoralising influence upon the two fiscal parties. For both of these, in order to remain in power, deemed it necessary to coquette with the third, or Labor Party, which they did by professing more or less sympathy with some or other of the measures that stood upon the labor platform. Thus these particular "planks," as they were called, obtained an importance out of all proportion to their merits. Their uselessness or harmfulness were glossed over by those who wished to obtain or retain political prominence, and this was done, too, by men (on both sides of the house) who knew better, and whose action, therefore, can only fitly be described as political prostitution. Factory Acts, State Banking, Credit Foncier, Loans to Settlers, Minimum Wage, Compulsory Arbitration, Closer Settlement, Early Closing, Old Age Pensions, Inspection of Land Boilers, Paper Money, and other socialistic proposals for making a pint pot hold a quart, have been treated with respect and discussed with apparent seriousness, because of the source whence they emanated; while if once in a

way a man were found hardy enough to suggest that first principles could not be violated with impunity, he ran no small risk of being derided by the "practical politicians" as a "faddist."



“There seems to be a general impression that for a prominent politician to adhere rigidly to his principles would be to jeopardise his position.

“This impression, however, is founded on mere conjecture—in consequence of the lack of examples.”

The Cynic.

“A merciful providence fashioned us holler
So that we might our principles swaller.”

Biglow Papers.

CHAPTER III.
THE RED HERRING OF
FEDERATION ACROSS THE TRACK
OF FREE TRADE.

But there is evidence on record in the political history even of the period of which we are now speaking, that occasionally a community may have a lucid interval, and will support a political leader who is courageous enough to adhere to political principle. For while, in 1892, Sir Henry Parkes was sulking in his tent, or babbling of the green fields of Federation, Mr. G. H. Reid was elected leader of the Freetrade Party, and made the fulfilment of the oft broken promises of previous free trade ministries his battle cry. And his triumph at the polls in 1894, and again in 1895, in the face of tremendous opposition, and in spite of the

fact that his land tax was soiled by the exemption blot, and handicapped by being bracketted with an inquisitorial, impudent and burdensome income tax (for which there had been no agitation whatever) should have furnished an useful and permanent object lesson on the good policy of political honesty.

Mr. Reid kept his political pledges, and made New South Wales commercially the freest of all British communities. And the general prosperity of the Colony, notwithstanding the after effects of the financial crises of 1891 and 1893, and the hardships consequent upon bad seasons, steadily increased; and with it the personal popularity of its genial free trade Premier.

But there seems to be some peculiar microbe in the atmosphere of political office, which, when it attacks a victim, not only fills him with an intense desire to remain in power, but also affects his mental vision to the extent of preventing him from discerning the right course to pursue in order to accomplish his object.

Mr. Reid's downfall dates from the time when he, too, began coquetting with Federation.

His immense personal influence was successful in preventing the compact being entered into under the original Constitution Bill, and was the means of bringing about another conference for the purpose of drafting an amended one. But, when the labors of the second conference were ended, and the result appeared in the form of the Draft Constitution which eventually became law, then Mr. Reid's attitude caused a shock to his best friends and supporters from which they can never recover.

It is difficult to imagine what considerations could have induced a man of his political experience to deliver such a speech as he did in the Sydney Town Hall, in which, after pointing out the damning tendencies of the Constitution Bill, he announced his intention of voting for it. Was it that he over-estimated the growing popularity of the converted Mr. Barton, and, fearing eclipse by him, wished to be acknowledged as a friend of federation, whose accomplishment he regarded as inevitable? If so, there was the clear evidence that no federation would have been entered into without New South Wales, any more than a burglary could be committed without loot.

And as for the forces that were behind Mr. Barton, they were just the same gang of protectionists and half-hearted free traders whom he, Mr. Reid, had often met and conquered before. Federation was merely a new rallying cry, intended to fill up with deluded sentimentalists the gaps in the protectionist ranks caused by the successful results in New South Wales of the adoption of a free trade and land tax policy.

Mr. Reid should have known that he was too good a free trader ever to secure protectionist support. But his influence among free traders was still strong enough to sway sufficient of them to vote for the Bill to ensure its passage. If he did not know this, then, as a set off against his lack of judgment, he must be credited with an amount of hitherto unsuspected modesty.

But the Constitution Act having been passed, at the first general election thereunder the fiscal question again came to the front, in spite of the clumsy efforts of protectionist conspirators to obscure it. The glamor of the federal sentiment, however, was still about Mr. Barton, and this secured him an unopposed

return to the Commonwealth Parliament as member for a free trade constituency. And his popularity in the other States, for having played such an important part in delivering New South Wales into their hands, marked him out as the first Prime Minister in the Commonwealth of Australia.

In the Commonwealth Parliament similar conditions prevail to those which characterised the New South Wales Parliament previously. There are three parties in each house, viz., the protectionists, the free traders, and the labor party. The third party has advanced one small step in respect to the fiscal question; for, instead of being pledged to sink it, its members are now allowed a free hand, the pledge only affecting them as regards the measures which appear on their platform.


Prominent among these was the question of a "White Australia"—the restriction of aliens.

That this measure should have been introduced by a protectionist Government, with the very palpable object of placating a powerful section of the House who profess to regard the amount of taxes the people have to pay as a matter of indifference, is hardly to be

wondered at. But that a free trade Opposition should so far violate its professed principles as to attempt to outbid the Government in the matter of the stringency of the exclusory provisions of such a Bill, was direct evidence of a lamentable lack both of dignity and consistency. For it was a plain and unmistakeable attempt to induce the Labor Party to believe that "Codlin was the friend, not Short"; and to lead them, acting on that belief, to transfer their allegiance to the free traders, who in return would have been bound to bring forward a Bill more narrow-minded, ignorant and restrictive still.

It is clear that the Immigration Restriction Act owes its existence to the triangularity of Australian party politics. This is very often made a cause of complaint against the labor party, but the charge is not a just one. The labor party itself came into being as the result of the continuous half heartedness and inconsistency of the free traders. And although it now openly offers its support in return for concessions to be obtained from either free traders or protectionists, the fact that it can obtain concessions on such terms is

as disgraceful, if not more so, to the makers of the concessions as to the offerers of support. Bribery cannot take place unless there is someone to accept, as well as someone to offer, the bribe; and which is the more contemptible? Federation is the daughter of "Yes-No"-ism and Protection, and the "White Australia" Act in its present form is the result of a shameless *liaison* between the Freetraders and the Labor Party.



"What's kep' you?—boat get aground?"

"It warn't the grounding—that didn't keep us back but a little. We blowed out a cylinder head."

"Good gracious! Anybody hurt?"

"No ma'am. Killed a nigger."

"Well, it's lucky; because sometimes people *do* get hurt. Two years ago last Christmas, your Uncle Silas was coming up from New Orleans on the old "Lally Rook" and she blowed out a cylinder head and crippled a man . . . He was a Baptist."

Mark Twain,

HUCK FINN.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COLOR PREJUDICE.

In face of the obvious fact that in many communities of white people, there exists a strong sentiment of antagonism to the possessors of dark skins, and that this sentiment is finding expression in legislation, the effects of which will persist long after those who are responsible for it have passed away, it ought to be worth while to submit such a sentiment to a careful analysis, in order to try to discover its component parts, or factors.

It is hardly possible to determine the order of importance in which these factors should be placed, but they may be stated as follows :

- 1st—Class prejudice (akin to the Hindoo caste),
- 2nd—Pseudo patriotism,
- 3rd—Politico-economic ignorance.

The sentiment is probably strongest in the United States of America, where the steady

increase in the numbers of the negro population is looked upon as a serious menace. In that country, however, the difficulty is easily recognisable as a legacy from the crime and folly of the past. And American statesmen can no more avert the inevitable in this respect than in any other. The negro is there—not of his own free will, but he is there to stay. He cannot be deported, for America is his country. The American negro is as much an American as the American Irishman—perhaps more so. He cannot be massacred, for there are too many of him. He may submit to insult and contumely for ever from the white man—and he may not; but in view of the latter possibility it might be well for the white man to reflect upon the wisdom of taking such steps as may make the negro a better permanent neighbor than he now is.

The prejudice against negroes is so great in what is called “good” American society, that their very presence will not be tolerated, and the least suspicion of the taint of negro blood, no matter how slight or remote, will cause the suspect to be regarded with a horror and aversion that the possession of all the

charms of physical beauty, all the highest mental and moral attributes, cannot outweigh.

This sentiment is more of a class prejudice than those who harbor it may think. It is the taint of slavery that is abhorred more than that of color. And it is but an exaggeration of the same feeling which would bar from "good" society a man or woman who belonged to the "lower orders," or the "working classes." It is but an intensified form of that class absurdity which regards as "low" and "vulgar" anyone connected with work or trade; that looks with disdain even upon a wealthy man if he is supposed to have grown rich by toil, or if his father or great-grandfather had ever been obliged to work for wages.

And yet it is to a sentiment of class exclusiveness of this description that the leaders of "white" society in America are able to obtain the support of the labor party! Do not the "white" working men know well enough that if all the negroes were to disappear, the "white" laborers who would take their places would be treated with the same contemptuous disdain by the upper classes in America as is now shown to the blacks?

Next comes the feeling of national vanity, or pseudo patriotism. This is sometimes described as racial antipathy, and strong efforts are put forward to show that a natural feeling of repulsion exists between the representatives of different races, which renders any union between them undesirable, if not impossible.

It is almost incredible that those who make a statement of this character should fail to see its egregious absurdity. For would not the existence of a *natural* repulsion between members of different races be the very best safeguard of racial purity? If such a feeling really existed, legislation upon the subject would be as unnecessary as a law to prevent people from walking on their hands. What *does* exist is a sentiment, which appears natural enough, inclining people under ordinary circumstances to prefer their own countrymen or countrywomen to strangers or foreigners. This sentiment is strongest among the uneducated and untravelled. In a large-minded man who is free from prejudice, it is merely a feeling of friendship for those who hold similar ideas to himself upon matters of religion and general conduct—a similarity arising from having been educated in

the same atmosphere. It is, in fact, a sort of unconscious conservatism, which constitutes a natural reserve force against dangerous innovation or rash experiment.

But as the standard of intelligence becomes lower, this feeling grows stronger. It degenerates into clannishness, and is encouraged as a virtue by those who seek to profit by it. In small communities it is brought into operation by members of one family or tribe against those of another. As communities grow larger, the sentiment manifests itself between the inhabitants of different towns or counties. Within natural limits it promotes a healthy rivalry which is not only mutually beneficial, but also exceedingly pleasant, particularly in the realm of sport. But it more frequently exceeds those limits, and awakens jealousy, ill feeling and strife, which become more serious in proportion to the ignorance of the people.

Then, as the intercourse between different countries increases, by reason of the growing facilities for communication, a stronger feeling of identity of interest arises among the inhabitants of each separate country, and the prejudice partakes of a national character. It

is fostered by war mongers, fed and flattered by national songs and anthems, and stimulated to the last degree by protective tariffs.

The British nation has had ample experience of this narrowmindedness, miscalled patriotism. It has displayed it itself towards other European nations in no sparing manner. But before the union of England with Scotland, the feeling of antagonism between Englishmen and Scotchmen was as fierce and as deadly as any sentiment now cherished by an Australian protectionist workman against a Japanese or a Chinese. In all probability it was more bitter, for there were wars and raids and outrages to stir the blood, and nourish the black emotions of hatred and revenge. And there were public speakers and public writers, then as now, ready to inflame the passions of the ignorant. And, then as now, if, in either country, there happened to be a man sensible enough to discern the folly and wickedness of such conduct, and bold enough to speak his mind, how speedily was he dubbed a "traitor" !

The official and political union between England and Scotland, and the numberless intermarriages between the natives of the

two countries, have blended the two peoples inextricably ; but among the lower classes of both countries the prejudice is still strong, and finds frequent vent in boastfulness and insult. There are occasions, too, when public men will seize the opportunity to proclaim themselves "thoroughly Scotch," or "thoroughly English," as the case may be ; and will utter sentiments of pride at the doings of some swashbuckling ancestor, as though they regretted the departure of the days of tribal and clannish feuds.

Then what shall be said of the Irish ? Would it be possible for any Australian to hate an Asiatic or an African with greater intensity than that with which some Irishmen hate Englishmen ; or could a more ignorant affront be shown by a blonde New Yorker to an Alabama negro than that displayed in the once common (though now rare) addendum to English advertisements—"No Irish need apply" ?

All this narrowmindedness is the very opposite of the thing it pretends to be. It vaunts itself as patriotism. Now patriotism is "love of one's country ; the passion which aims to support and defend it and its interests." Is there anything in such a definition which

could include an affront to any other country? Patriotism is merely collective self respect and self preservation. And just as it is incumbent upon an individual to take care lest his self respect degenerates into vanity, and his self preservation into an encroachment upon the equal rights of others, so it should be the aim of those who occupy representative positions, (and whose actions therefore more or less implicate the nation to which they belong) to avoid setting up false standards of national pride, or false ideas of national morality. The man who takes up the position that his own individual conduct is not to be tested by any code of ethics, would be properly regarded as an arrogant and presumptuous fool. Yet that is precisely the attitude which is called patriotic when a conflict occurs between two nations or communities.

“Our country, right or wrong!” becomes the shibboleth of the pseudo-patriot; no matter how obvious may be the ultimate injury certain to accrue to the country itself by persistence in the proposed conflict; and the true patriot who would suggest a different course, in the best interests of his country, has to run the

gauntlet of misrepresentation, suppression, abuse and persecution.

Yet all the vaporings of the pseudo patriot cannot avail against the operation of natural law. Effect will still follow cause, and force will continue to persist. The self-satisfied and fluent demagogue, who makes a business of pandering to the passions and prejudices of the ignorant, and the venal journalist who enters into partnership with him, may care little for the consequences of the actions of their deluded audiences ; they may not even be able to recognise those consequences when they do eventuate ; or they may trust to their skill and opportunities to enable them to lay the blame upon something else ; but one thing is certain, and that is, that there *will be* consequences. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles, either literally or legislatively. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is as a reproach to any people" is as true to-day as when it was first said. Sin is the transgression of the law—not the law of Parliament or of the Synod, but the law of nature — and the nation, as well as the soul that sinneth, it shall die.

“ We hate those whom we injure.”

Tacitus.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES.

Even now, Nemesis seems to be on the track of America in regard to the race question. The following significant leading article appeared in the Sydney "Daily Telegraph" of June 7, 1902:

THE AMERICAN RACE QUESTION.

What will be the future of the American negro? That is a problem which year by year claims wider attention in the United States. It has not yet become so insistent as to demand legislative action, and legislatures

very seldom do to-day that which is difficult or unpleasant if the doing of it can be put off till to-morrow. The War of Secession left its work unfinished in merely liberating the slaves; something should have been done at the end of it to make provision for their future; to prevent the inevitable race conflict resulting from their multiplication in America as free and equal citizens, who sometimes dare not vote. It would then have been a task sufficient to daunt the most capable statesmanship, but it has since grown almost to the magnitude of an impossibility. The black race has greatly increased of late years; it has acquired knowledge and vested interests. In many localities it greatly outnumbers the whites who were formerly the master race, and where this is the case the feeling between the two colors is, generally speaking, bitterly hostile. The "rough justice of lynch law," when applied to negro offenders in districts where the white race predominates, is often attended by utter savageries of vengeful punishment which are the outcome of racial hatred. In nearly all the Southern States the line of cleavage between the white and black population is nearly as distinct as it was just after the war, when the Ku Klux organisation terrorised the released slaves and all whose sympathies were on their side. In the North, despite the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and the Christian professions with which the war was begun, President Roosevelt's invitation to a highly cultured and able university professor who was of negro blood to meet him on the same terms as a white citizen, even though the latter should be a Tammany "boss," evoked consternation and protest. The negro has no place in America, save as barber, "boots," hotel waiter,

or any other of the branches of comparatively menial service. The more intelligent among the black population feel keenly the embargo. They realise that liberty granted them in theory is being withheld in fact, and grow ever more resentful of this state of things. The American negroes are a virile and capable race, but the opportunity of showing how far their native intelligence could serve in most occupations that are open to whites is denied them. It has often been observed at school that negro pupils show high promise, which seldom in mature life becomes realised. The reason suggested, probably the true reason, is that they learn to comprehend that the high places are to them "banned and barred, forbidden fare," that they realise the uselessness of persisting in the acquirement of knowledge which they are not allowed to devote to its best practical purpose.

The black race increases in the United States at a rate which is causing alarm; there is no outlet for its ablest members unless they encroach upon the fields of occupation held and jealously guarded by the white population. One of the solutions of this national difficulty which have been suggested is the devoting of a sufficiently large area of American territory as a negro state, and thus to silence the problem for another half-century. Another is the deportation to Liberia and other parts of Africa of the whole negro population. Each of these proposals, if practicable, would involve immense cost. Any thorough settlement of the great question will do that—it is the price the Americans of to-day must pay for the cheap labor their fathers benefited by. But each is impracticable without the employment of force, and such a trampling upon admitted

and established rights as the present generation would not sanction. The negroes, especially in some of the Southern States, have acquired property and established family ties, and they would not go elsewhere unless they were spurred forward by bayonets. After the war many planters paid the passages of their former slaves to Liberia, but in most cases, it is said, these worked their passages back. There were such slave-owners as Legree, of course, but the majority of them, if only for selfish reasons, treated their human workers at least as well as they treated their horses, while many were humane and considerate. The principle of slavery is wrong and repellant, but the facts of it were not, on the whole, so black as they were painted by some Abolitionist champions. At worst the sufferers by the American system of slavery only exchanged one form of it for another. They were originally slaves at the disposal of their tribal rulers, who sold them to the highest bidder, just as their white American owners could afterwards do. They found some advantages from contact with civilisation, to whose methods they showed themselves readily adaptable. Inspired in the mass by what may be called constitutional spiritual impressionableness, their religious wants were very sedulously attended to by the many preachers who regarded slavery as a good thing because it brought subjects, who could never otherwise be reached, within the pale of Christian teaching.

How changed in this respect is the treatment of negroes is fully described in a recent issue of the "Religious Herald," published at Richmond, Virginia. The Rev. Dr. A. E. Dickenson, a minister whose work has for many years been largely done in districts where

the negroes were greatly in excess of the whites, writes feelingly on the subject. In the bad old days of slavery in Virginia, many owners invited their slaves to family worship, while in the churches a special place was reserved for colored worshippers. "There was no compulsion about their attendance at church, and no persuasion was needed to induce them to be in their places in the Lord's House. It was a delight to them to be there, and their white brethren were glad to have them. They were generally devout and interested listeners to the sermon, and the preacher soon became accustomed to their ejaculations of 'Bless the Lord,' 'Dat's so,' 'Amen,' 'Yes, Lord,' and found them no interruption, but rather an inspiration." They are not wanted in the same churches with whites now, and are unable, in the main, to provide anything like a sufficiency of their own. Dr. Dickenson mentions instances that came within his own experience when even preachers from the North strongly opposed the assembling of negroes with whites for Divine worship. Neither in the churches nor anywhere else throughout the whole South are the black men quite welcome; "Sufferance is the badge of all their tribe," and when they greatly excel in numbers it is not greatly to be wondered at that they are inclined to give unpleasant evidences of the fact that they know it. The shooting, lynching and burning alive of negroes have greatly increased during recent years, as have the outrages committed by them upon white communities. The difficult and dangerous position that has arisen should be an unforgettable warning to Australia against the admission in large numbers of persons of an alien race, with whom the white population will not assimilate—with

whom, indeed, it must some time come into collision. America would probably be greatly the gainer by purchasing release from her race difficulty at the cost of all the prosperity she won through the use of slave labor.

We are told in the foregoing article that the negro problem in America is "year by year claiming wider attention," and in the next sentence that "it has not yet become so insistent as to demand legislative action." But, in a brilliant attempt to explain this anomaly, the writer goes on to say that "something should have been done at the end of the war of secession to prevent the inevitable race conflict. It would then have been a task sufficient to daunt the most capable statesmanship, but it has since grown almost to the magnitude of an impossibility.

Thus something which should have been done 40 years ago, but was left undone because its magnitude daunted the most capable statesmanship of the day, is now approaching the magnitude of an impossibility, and is claiming wider attention, but has not yet demanded legislative action.

With this lucid introduction the writer proceeds to describe savage shootings, lynch-

ings and burnings of negroes ; the organised terrorism of all who sympathise with the victims of these atrocities ; the inevitable result of such circumstances and conditions upon the social and mental status of the negroes, and the reflex action of this result upon the white population. A striking illustration of the effects of this reflex action is given in the changed and changing attitude of the Christian Church. Racial prejudice and Christianity cannot exist together. The one is a direct denial of the other ; and the professing Christian who would legislate against the people of any nation on the grounds of race or color is a contemptible hypocrite — besides being a dangerous fool. Yet the “Daily Telegraph” scribe tells us that whereas, in the slavery days of America, there were many preachers who regarded slavery as a good thing, because it brought negroes within the pale of Christian teaching, the color prejudice has now extended to the Churches, and there is an increasing number of preachers who “strongly oppose the assembling of negroes with whites for Divine service.” No attempt is ever made to harmonise this action with the teachings of

Scripture. "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you" is a dead letter with all participants in color prejudice, and their Christianity is a sham, a delusion,—or a trade.

But the "Daily Telegraph" article makes a plunge into the economics of the question ; for, in speaking of the cost involved in any proposed scheme for its settlement, it says—"It is the price that the Americans of to-day must pay for the cheap labor their fathers benefited by." This brings us to the consideration of the labor aspect of racial legislation generally.

The idea that slave labor is cheaper than so called free labor is easily disposed of. There is not one employer of free labor to-day who would turn his workmen into slaves if he had the option. There are some brutal men who, no doubt, on occasions when they are angered by their employés, wish they had the legislative right to wreak vengeance upon them in the manner that used to be so popular with slave owners. But no one (with a due sense of the responsibility involved in feeding, clothing and housing his workmen to the extent necessary

to keep them as slaves in decent working order and condition) fails now to see that the expense incurred would be much greater than his present wages sheet, to say nothing of the additional cost of the original purchase money of the slaves.



“ War suspends the rules of moral obligation, and what is long suspended is in danger of being totally abrogated. Civil wars strike deepest of all into the manners of the people. They vitiate their politics; they corrupt their morals; they pervert even the natural taste and relish for Equity and Justice.”

Burke.

CHAPTER VI.

CHATTEL SLAVERY AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

As a matter of fact, the institution of chattel slavery was dying a natural death for some time before the outbreak of the American civil war. Not by any means that the recognition of "the equal and inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" was any clearer in America in 1861 than it was in 1776. For 85 years the laws of the United States, in admitting and sanctioning the "domestic institution" of chattel slavery, had been a direct violation of both the letter and the spirit of the Declaration of American Independence.

Thus the national conscience, so far as it was represented by the laws of the country in this particular, was a composition of selfish

indifference, callous greed, ignorant prejudice, and shameless hypocrisy. But, happily, there are always some people who are better than the laws they live under; otherwise there would be no hope for human progress. Men are in some respects very like plants; for their development in every direction depends upon the conditions in which they live. And the conditions, physical and political, of the inhabitants of the Northern and those of the Southern states were so essentially different in many respects (one of the chief being climate) that their interests and sympathies diverged to an extent which made the bond between them an irksome and irritating fetter. The laws of the Federal Government in regard to chattel slavery were evidently framed at the outset to meet the exigencies of the Southern States, in which it was assumed that slavery was a necessity for industrial development. But although these laws operated throughout the whole of the Union, slavery became in time an exclusively Southern institution. The nightmare of the Northern negro was that he would be sent "down South," where the institution flourished in all its native hideousness.

In the North, however, there was but little sympathy with the traffic, for it had already been found there that negro slave labor was less effective than white free labor, on account of the climate ; and when, in 1854, the question arose as to the right of slaveholders to emigrate with their human chattels, and import the domestic institution into states and territories that were practically free from it, the people of the North made the non-extension of slavery the chief plank in their political platform. It is worthy of remark that, at its beginning, the Civil War was not in any sense a struggle for the emancipation of the slaves. The Republican party, who nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, stated in its manifesto, in November, 1860, "Though we have no thought of interfering with slavery in the States where it exists, we will not consent to its extension to the territories ; these, and the States into which they will grow, must be kept as free soil." And in a letter to Horace Greeley, dated August, 1862, while the war was in progress, President Lincoln wrote, "My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either

to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing some and letting others alone, I would also do that." Yet the very next month, September, he published a proclamation notifying that, from the 1st January, 1863, all slaves owned in any State, or in any designated part of a State, *which was then in rebellion against the Union*, should be held to be from that time and forever after free. This proclamation was issued "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing such rebellion"—not as a means of bringing the national conduct into harmony with the Declaration of Independence. Its obvious object was to cause an insurrection of the slaves in the South, and thus to paralyse the military operations of the Confederate army; but its real effect was to gain an immense amount of sympathy for the Federal cause from all those people in Christian countries whose sentimental emotions are as strong as their judgment is weak; and who imagine that independence can be secured by declarations,

and slavery abolished by proclamations, while the very essence of dependence and slavery is allowed to remain, because it is unrecognised and unsought for.

An American authority, writing in the "People's Cyclopedia," says, "The principle of a State's right to resist the power of the United States Government, held and advocated by one party during the agitations preceding the adoption of the Constitution, constantly asserted itself during the earlier years of this Republic. The legislature of Kentucky formulated the doctrine in a series of resolutions in 1798, and that of Virginia in 1799. Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, avowed the first sentiment of disunion, and in 1814-15 the Federalists of New England were said to have advocated secession in a convention held at Hartford; and again, when the question of admitting Missouri to the Union as a Slave State was agitated, threats of disunion were heard from the South."

It is but a truism to observe that causes which fail at one time to provoke hostilities between two individuals may do so at another time—the temper of one or both of the parties

being then in a different condition. The same is true of nations, or communities of individuals. Many wars have taken place over infinitely slighter matters than the "Alabama" claims, or the recent Venezuelan difficulty. But, although on each of these occasions there were many both in England and America who, for their own purposes, would have liked to see the two countries at war, the general tone of public feeling was not, at the time, sufficiently bellicose to allow the war spark to be fanned into a flame; and the troubles were settled without bloodshed. How was it then, that the Northern and Southern States of America flew at each other's throats in 1861, and engaged in a sanguinary internecine struggle, costing over a million lives, and millions of treasure, about a matter which as a *casus belli* was not of greater importance than are some of the political questions now agitating the minds of representatives of different States in the Australian Commonwealth?

The answer can be found by a glance at the condition of the people of the United States in 1861. The national tariff had long

been so adjusted as to "protect" the interests of New England manufacturers by excluding, with more or less rigidity, the products of Great Britain and other European countries; and the Morrill tariff, passed in March, 1861, carried this principle of exclusion still further. That this fiscal policy was injurious to the interests of the South cannot be doubted, since, as they had no manufactures, they had no pretence of benefit from the alleged protection; while the tariff impeded that free interchange of their own supplies of raw material with the products of the industry of other nations which was essential to their prosperity.

Protective tariffs, however, are seldom acknowledged as the real causes of war. They usually operate to bring about results which are looked upon as primary causes. They are evidences, in the first place, of a sad lack of logic and casuality, and of a low standard both of political intelligence and political morality. And as their operation is indirect—very few individuals being able to calculate either how much they lose or how little they profit thereby—so is the risk exceedingly

great that the damage they inflict upon a community will be attributed to some other (and consequently some erroneous) cause.

Then, too, in 1857—just four years prior to the war—there occurred in America that tremendous financial crisis called “The Great Panic.” This began with the unexpected failure, in August, of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, whose operations went into millions, and whose suspension was therefore regarded as a terrible disaster. Then followed bank after bank—firm, factory, corporation, company—until the whole Union seemed involved in one general collapse. The banks of New York and New England remained firm until the middle of October, but when they suspended, the excitement reached its height. A reporter of the “Tribune” says that from 30,000 to 40,000 persons were in Wall Street at the same moment, in a condition of mind which can be better imagined than described. This panic is referred to by another American writer in the following terms:—
“Thus there was exhibited the melancholy spectacle of a great nation’s commercial, financial, manufacturing, and industrial in-

terests in utter ruin, from one end of the broad land to the other ; prosperity succeeded by abject adversity ; confidence supplanted by total distrust ; a paralysis of all trade ; the stoppage of almost every bank in every part of the United States ; the cessation of factories, the discharge of thousands of laborers, the inability to bring our large crop of produce to market ; the ruinous rates of 2 or 3 per cent. *per month* on the strongest paper, and a ruinous depreciation in the price of all stocks. The steamers on the great rivers and lakes stood still ; the canal boats ceased to ply ; the railroad trains conveyed less than half the usual number of passengers and quantity of merchandise ; the navigating interest shared the common distress, so that the cargoes, brought from abroad, either passed into the public stores, or were re-exported at great loss ; the freighting business was nearly annihilated. Alarmed, too, at the prospect before them, shiploads of emigrants were taken home to their native land, in the packets running from Boston and New York to Europe."

It is not necessary, here, to dilate upon the causes of this crisis. It is sufficient to

call attention to the fact that it occurred, and to consider its inevitable effect upon the general condition of the people. For while such collapses are but the outcome of pre-existing commercial and financial rottenness, involving a compulsory recognition of the shadowy and unreal basis of much imaginary wealth, they are popularly regarded and referred to as though they were initial causes of the destruction or disappearance of the wealth which they have simply proved *had no existence*.

The symptoms indeed are identical; for a man who has £10,000 invested in a bank which is hopelessly broken, experiences precisely similar sensations to what he would feel if £10,000 worth of his uninsured goods had sunk to the bottom of the sea.

The effect of the Great Panic upon the United States must therefore have been to leave tens, and perhaps hundreds, of thousands of people in circumstances under which they would welcome any disturbance or upheaval that would promise a re-shuffling of the social and political cards, and bring about a fresh scramble for top places.

Thus, when the question of the extension of slavery arose, it found the people of America in just the frame of mind to proceed to extremes which, under other circumstances, they would have been anxious to avoid. That the bitterness of feeling between the North and the South was intensified by the Great Panic cannot be doubted when it is also remembered that the great slave-breeding interests of the South were hampered by pecuniary obligations to the North. For some considerable time prior to the war, the supply of slaves had not been equal to the demand; in consequence of which the enterprising Southerners had embarked in the business of *breeding* slaves for the market, under circumstances which were not only a ghastly satire upon the professed national religion, and a disgraceful blot upon the national character, but were also an outrage upon common humanity. Yet the financiers of the North had advanced large sums upon the security of these slave-breeding concerns; and it can hardly be wondered at that intense irritation was caused in the South by the agitation (to contract the market in which they could

dispose of their human stock) emanating, as it seemed, from the very men who were in a position to foreclose upon them in the event of their enterprise not being successful.

It is not an easy thing to induce a prosperous and contented community to go to war; excepting to resist unprovoked aggression. But when times are bad, and discontent and unrest are prevailing; when a large number of the inhabitants feel that they have nothing to lose, but a prospect of gaining something, by flying to arms; the probabilities of a peaceful settlement of a national dispute become very remote.

The American Civil War was the culmination of much bitter feeling that had long existed between the North and the South, and was the result of many causes, of which the question of slavery was only one, and by no means the principal one. That it was afterwards placed in the position of the chief cause was the outcome of circumstances which developed themselves during its progress; which fact, in its turn, is responsible—however little it may be recognised or acknowledged—for much of the animosity that is now displayed against the negroes in America.

To assert that chattel slavery would not have been abolished without the war is to ignore altogether the history of its abolition by peaceful means in other parts of the world. Chattel slavery, after all, is but a primitive and barbarous method of robbing a man of his "inalienable right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness." All the great civilised nations of the world have now outgrown it, and have adopted more scientific means of exploiting their fellows. They delude them with electioneering catch-cries; they promise them "protection": the slaves of to-day forge their own fetters and make the scourges for their own backs by means of the ignorant misuse of their political privileges; and very few of them seem aware of the fact that, in spite of all the blood that has been shed in the sacred cause of liberty, slavery is as rampant as ever, but in a thin and hypocritical disguise.

No apology is needed for devoting so much space and attention to the consideration of the negro question in America. It is from that country that Australia has imported its Colorphobia—that disease in the American

national character which can never be cured without a humbling of the national pride, and a confession of the national sin. The American white man has two courses before him ; one, to continue treating the American negro as a brute and an outcast—and, consequently, to further brutalise and degrade him—the other, to recognise his “equal and inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”—and, consequently, to elevate and improve him. The first of these alternatives may easily mean the wreck of the great Republic ; the latter can only result, in time, in the presence of a friendly community of blacks who will naturally gravitate to those portions of the States which they are physically and climatically fitted to inhabit, and to which they will take the manners and customs and sentiments of the white neighbors with whom they are bound to be in continual commercial and industrial intercourse.

The white man may still pride himself upon the purity of his finger nails ; and may train his children to prefer matrimonial alliances with people of their own race. But

the white can no more run the Equator than the negro can run the North Pole.

Up to the present, however, the advocates of a "White Australia" appear to have totally misread the lesson which the American race difficulty presents. They have confounded Slavery and Color, for no other reason than because the American slaves were colored; and they point to the trouble presented by the negro problem in America as a thing to be avoided in Australia by keeping all colored people out of the country. The ignorance displayed by this attitude is as pitiable as its consequences are likely to be disastrous. If, indeed, it were proposed to introduce the system of chattel slavery into Australia; to legalise the kidnapping of negroes, and to subsidise the slave-breeding industry; then the opponents of the proposal might well direct attention to the result of such actions in "the land of the free and the home of the brave," and call upon all true patriots to fight the infamy to the death.

But to take the bald facts that some Americans hate those whom they (or their forefathers) have injured, and that this hatred

has in many cases led to reprisals; that with the growing intensity of bitterness thus engendered the injured parties are also increasing in numbers at a rate which indicates a period, more or less distant, when they may possess the power to resist or avenge insult; that this refusal on the part of the ostracised and condemned race to die out, and kindly relieve the Legislature of the awkward consequences of past national wrong doing, and present unwillingness to repent thereof, is made the subject of national complaint and manufactured into a national difficulty—to take all these facts and, ignoring all other circumstances, coolly blame the whole resultant trouble upon the *color* of the wronged people, is a piece of superlative impudence and ignorance for which it would be hard to find an historical parallel.

But, as though they were anxious to “kick the beam” of legislative folly, the “White Australia” advocates were not content to import from America an anti-negro sentiment, (when all that was necessary was to studiously avoid the causes of its origin), but they have extended it to other peoples as

different from the negro in national characteristics as the negro is from the Briton.

Probably the most striking example of this extension of prejudice is the case of the Japanese, to the consideration of which some attention may now be given.



“Whisht! Whisht! Whisht!
Here comes the bogey man!”

Popular Song.

“The gobble-uns ’ll get yer
Ef yer don’t watch out!”

J. Whitcombe Riley.

CHAPTER VII.

THE JAPANESE BOGEY.

Those who had the opportunity of reading the debates in the Australian Commonwealth Parliament upon the Immigration Restriction Bill, and the press comments thereon, cannot fail to have noticed how great a proportion of the discussion was devoted to the Japanese.

This is, perhaps, not to be wondered at. The Japanese are a nation whose rapid advance in the methods of Western civilization is one of the most interesting, and probably the most conspicuous, feature in the history of the nineteenth century. The wonderful development of their trade ; the growth of their naval and military power, and their undeniable diplomatic skill, have compelled recognition from the great Caucasian nations,

and have secured for Japan an undisputed title to rank among the foremost powers of the world. The geographical position of the country, and the friendly sentiments of its people towards the British Empire, have caused Japan to be sought for and welcomed as a trusted ally of Great Britain, and thus to play a most important part in shaping the destinies of mankind.

These are not small considerations. They are, indeed, so large and important that the Australian Parliament could not disregard them without making some efforts in the direction of justification. That these efforts consisted of a tissue of misrepresentations, only a moiety of which could, by the most charitable mind, be attributed to ignorance on the part of those who made them, is a distressing thing for a decent Australian to contemplate.

The labor party and its various organs perpetually represented Japan as a country inhabited by 45 millions of impoverished "little brown men," who were ready to swoop down upon Australia in hordes, and to offer their services in the labor market

at a beggarly rate of pay, on which no white man could live.

The frequency with which the assertion has been made, that Australia is in danger of being "swamped" by "hordes" or "millions" of colored aliens, has evidently caused it to be regarded by some people as a strong argument; whereas it is merely one of those silly scares and bogeys which a little calm examination will disperse. But the difficulty appears to be to get those who are affected by it into a sufficiently unprejudiced frame of mind to submit it to a calm examination. It is of little use to tell a man who is suffering from *delirium tremens* that the horrible things he thinks he sees, and which urge him to suicide, have no actual existence. And when men have imbibed the degrading notion that work is a boon to be doled out to them by gracious "capitalists," and that there will not be enough of it to go round amongst them unless every industrial avenue is jealously guarded from competition, their minds become filled with terrors which it is difficult to convince them are only imaginary.

It is true, as has been so frequently asserted, that there are 45 millions of Japanese "within a few weeks' sail of Australia"; but there are also 40 millions of Britons, 130 millions of Russians, 55 millions of Germans, 38 millions of French, 32 millions of Italians, 25 millions of Turks, and a few odd millions more in different parts of the world—all within a few weeks' sail of Australia. Why do not the labor leaders point out what a terrible calamity it would be if all these millions were to take it into their heads to come to Australia and offer to do all our work for us for nothing?

As a matter of fact, the roving and colonizing instinct is much more a Western than an Eastern characteristic; so that the danger of being "swamped" by white aliens is certainly no less, but probably greater, than that which is threatened by colored races. The 45 millions of Japan are as fond of their own country as the 40 millions of Great Britain are of theirs—perhaps fonder; and the suggestion that a sufficient number of them to cause the slightest embarrassment to Australia would ever

attempt to come here, uninvited, is one which facts disprove.

Suppose, however, that the whole 45 millions of Japanese left their country, and came to Australia; would they not leave Japan empty for the four or five millions of Australians to move to? If this supposition is objected to as absurd and impossible, what is the object of the perpetual iteration of the "45 millions" by labor orators, if it is not indulged in for the purpose of scaring their audiences into a course of political action which they would never follow excepting under the influence of terror? And if there is no danger of the whole population of Japan coming to Australia, will some one kindly indicate how many of the 45 millions are likely to come? How many *have* come?

During the progress of the debate in the Commonwealth Parliament, official statistics were prepared and quoted by different speakers, showing how baseless was the scare of a Japanese industrial invasion.

In Northern Queensland, and Thursday Island, and Northern West Australia, Japanese immigration had proceeded under agreements

and regulations, as to numbers and conditions, made between the governments of those colonies and the government of Japan. In all the rest of Australia the statistical returns showed that there had been no increase, but a *decrease* in the influx of Japanese during the past few years, and that, outside of Queensland, the total number of Japanese in the whole of the Commonwealth *did not exceed 800.** Yet these facts acted as no check upon the volume of exaggeration with which the frenzied demand for their total exclusion was accompanied.

In addition to all this, many respectful offers from the Japanese Government were made to deal with the whole question of the regulation, limitation, or total cessation of Japanese immigration by means of a direct treaty or agreement with the Commonwealth Government, so that what was represented as the wish of the Australian people might be carried into effect without an unnecessary affront to the Japanese nation. But they were disregarded, on the shallow affectation that the Restriction Bill involved no reproach

*See Mr. Bruce Smith's speech, Chapter XII. of this book.

to the Japanese on the grounds of race or color. Yet when, at the very same moment, assurances were being openly given to the labor supporters of the Commonwealth Government that the Test clause of the Bill would only be put into operation against colored aliens, surely an illustration has been afforded of legislative double-dealing and public hypocrisy that might well cause every honest man and woman in Australia to blush for shame.



“ These be thy gods, O Israel.”

Exodus, xxxii., 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL.*

The pitiful shifts to which the supporters of the Immigration Restriction Bill were driven in their attempts to find arguments to justify its passage were enough to set the whole civilised world laughing.

In introducing the measure, the Prime Minister, Mr. Barton, made a speech which contained no semblance of an attempt to prove its necessity or its justice. He said: "We are in this position: as to the undesirableness of certain classes of immigrants, I suppose we are all practically agreed." But he accepted an interjection from a member that alien restriction was required to preserve "the character of our own race," in support of which he made two or

*In this and the five succeeding chapters, all the passages which appear within quotation marks are taken, *verbatim*, from the Commonwealth "Hansard" reports of the speeches of the respective members.

three quotations from Professor Pearson's work entitled "*National Life and Character.*" These quotations dealt exclusively with "the fear of Chinese immigration which Australian democracy cherishes, and which Englishmen at home find so hard to understand." Respecting such fears, Mr. Barton said "They are not justified by the facts of to-day, but they *may be justified* by the *tendency* of the facts of to-day," and again: "I do not intend to say that there is any immediate danger of that kind" [that is, of the terrible things which Professor Pearson regarded as probable] "but, unless we are careful, dangers of that kind are inevitable as time goes on."

It is clear, however, that Mr. Barton realised the *present* dangers and difficulties accompanying any legislation in this direction; for he said: "It is not a desirable thing in our legislation to make discriminations which will complicate the foreign relations of the Empire. It would be of untold evil and harm to us—and likely to lead to troubles even rivalling those which the future may bring forth to us from these causes—if we were to take such action."

Mr. Barton's attitude, in short, as disclosed by his speech, was that of a Prime Minister who, while wishing to carry a measure with the object of placating a majority of those upon whom he was dependent for support, was nevertheless aware of its delicate and dangerous nature. Consequently he endeavoured to frame a Bill which would satisfy his supporters, while it would be free from the offence which he foresaw would produce "untold evil and harm" in the future. And when he found that the temper of his supporters was not in a condition to accept anything so mild, he set himself to try to persuade them that what the measure as drafted lacked in drasticity would be compensated for by the wise discrimination that would be displayed by the Government in its administration.

"On the face of it," said he, "the Bill is not aimed at European nations. Governments must be credited with common sense, or it is no use committing to them the administration of such measures at all. This amount of common sense and discretion must be credited to the present Government and its successors: that they will *discriminate* between those cases

in which *desirable civilized* immigrants are seeking admission, and cases in which those seek admission whose presence is baneful to us in the present, and may be much more so in the future. That is the reason why I have asked for the power to be given in these broad terms."

The broad terms alluded to were contained in sub-clause (a) of Clause 4 of the original draft Bill, which defined as a "prohibited immigrant" —

- (a) Any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out and sign in the presence of the officer, a passage of 50 words in length in the English language dictated by the officer.

There can be no doubt that these terms would have been broad enough to suit the convenience of any Ministry. But they were much too broad to be accepted by representatives who had obtained their seats by appealing, in the words of the leader of the Federal Labor Party, Mr. Watson, to "human weakness and prejudices."

Consequently, Mr. Barton found himself in a dilemma from which he could only extri-

cate himself with honor and dignity by a sacrifice to which his courage proved unequal.

He had declared that the broad terms in which the Bill was couched indicated "the only road" (p. 3502 "Hansard") by which disqualifications on the grounds of race and color might be avoided. Mr. Chamberlain has described such disqualifications (in words quoted by Mr. Barton) as not only "offensive to a friendly power, but contrary to the general conceptions of equality which have been the guiding principle of British rule throughout the Empire"; and believing, as Mr. Barton protested that he did, that such discriminations would "complicate the foreign relations of the Empire, and be of untold evil and harm to us," there was no other course left open to him as a true patriot, or even as a decent politician, than to "stick to the Bill." And on September 6, 1901 (H. p. 4653), he announced, in reply to a challenge, that "the Government *would* stick to the Bill." It will be seen, later on, how that declaration was adhered to.

“ And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew.”

Goldsmith.

“ With just enough of learning to misquote.”

Byron.

CHAPTER IX.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN'S SPEECH.

Sir William McMillan (at the time acting leader of the Opposition) caused some surprise by his utterance. And in certain respects it was a remarkable and interesting speech. It was remarkable as an illustration of how much pertinent and valuable information a man may possess upon a given subject, and yet be unable to properly apply it. And it was interesting as an evidence of the manner in which a public man may sometimes show what a tremendous amount of knowledge he does *not* possess upon a given subject, yet, in a congenial atmosphere, run no risk of exposure.

Almost at the outset of his oration, Sir William touched the crux of the whole question. For he said "we must recollect the *great and impressive fact* that we are a people situated practically in the Eastern seas, and that we have a continent of such enormous

proportions that whilst the *Southern parts have a climate suitable to the British people, one half of our territory is either tropical or sub-tropical.*"

Now, what does that mean? Is it not equivalent to saying that while the Southern parts of our continent have a climate suitable to the British people, one half of our territory is *not* suitable (or, at any rate, not so suitable) to the British people? The labor party should make a note of the fact that Sir William does not propose to alter the climate of half of Australia, nor yet to remove that half into a latitude where it would be suitable to the British people. He has not even a specific to offer (which is a wonder) that would enable a Britisher to work in a climate which is unsuitable for him. What he wants is to people this territory with white men; to make them work in a temperature which, if they survive it, will eventually make them, or their descendants, brown or black; and then, when they have reached that condition, the future McMillans will probably agitate for their deportation as "*colored undesirables*," with the object of starting the benevolent business over again. No wonder Sir William says: "We have to

deal here with a very difficult question." But the greatest difficulty ought to be in convincing the working classes of Australia that the carrying of such a proposal into effect would be anything but a cruel degradation and a bitter mockery for them.

He says, further, that the millions and millions of people who are in close proximity to the Northern parts of our continent are of an alien and "servile character."

This is one of those large, vague, wholesale statements which politicians are fond of indulging in, when they feel sure that their audiences are either unable or unwilling to subject them to the test of calm criticism. Servility means "slavery; the condition of a slave or bondman; mean submission or obsequiousness." What does Sir William know of the history of Japan that could warrant him in applying such a term to its people? For centuries past Britons have been boastfully and rhythmically asserting that they "never, never, never will be slaves," yet they have been conquered and enslaved in turn by Saxon, Dane, Norman, and what not; and when there was no foreign foe to subjugate

the nation, there were ruling classes and hierarchies in the nation itself to enslave and degrade its own people. Nor has this loud lip-worship of liberty prevented Britons from doing their best (or worst) to enslave the people of other nations. Is Sir William McMillan aware that, during all this time, the Japanese have never been conquered nor enslaved, and that they are able to-day to assert, truthfully, that they have never permitted the institution of chattel slavery to exist in their country?

It is extremely probable that this interesting fact is among the many things which Sir William does not know; but it would be placing too large a restriction upon his eloquence to ask him to confine it to subjects that are within his ken.

It happens to be the fact, however, that, so far as Japan is concerned, the charge of national servility is a careless and cruel libel, which could only emanate either from a political ignoramus or a political poltroon.*

*It may interest Sir Wm. McMillan to learn that, comparatively recently (in 1872) a Peruvian ship, the "Maria Russe," entered Yokohama harbor with about 200 Chinese on board, who had been taken from the Portuguese colony of Macao as slaves. The Japanese

But perhaps Sir William, of Wentworth, was using the term in an individual sense, and meant to imply that servility is a *personal* trait in the Japanese character. If so, what greater warrant has he for posing as an authority on their individual than upon their national servility?

As an additional reason for gratuitously affronting nations about whom he took so much pains to prove that he knew so little, the speaker proceeded to say that Australia must "preserve pure for all time the British element with which we started." The purity of the British element with which Australia started, consisting, as it did, of British convicts, and their tyrannical and brutal military guards, is a theme worthy of Sir William McMillan. As a specimen of the careless clap-trap oratory which characterised the debate, the remark deserves to be remembered; but the lament-

authorities compelled the captain to let the slaves go, and they landed in Japan, free men, and were returned by the Japanese to their own country. The Peruvian Government made a claim upon the Japanese Government for compensation, which, by consent, was submitted to the arbitration of the Czar of Russia, who decided in favor of Japan. This incident may be useful to Sir William as an illustration the next time he orates upon Japanese servility.

able thing about it is that it answered its miserable purpose, and aroused enthusiasm among the audience, instead astonishment and disgust.

The absurd and contradictory character of the deliverance may be seen by the following summary of its principal phrases and arguments :—

“This is one of the most crooked measures that it was ever attempted to place on the Statute Book. The whole of this great continent has been peopled almost entirely with a purely British stock; but by the inauguration of Federation we have become one of the civilized peoples of the world, and, *whether we will or not, we must mix with the peoples of the world, and must consider international relations.*

“This Continent in the Southern parts is climatically suitable to British people; but one half of it is not. Therefore we must preserve the *whole* of the continent for British people, and *not* mix with the peoples of the world (with whom, as a Commonwealth, we *must* mix) and must tell the Imperial Government of Great Britain, face to face, that, in this

matter, we will *not* consider the international relations (which, as a Commonwealth, we *must* consider).

“ We want to keep out the Japanese laborer, because Japan is becoming a highly-educated nation, and therefore undesirable. We must say to the natives of this highly-educated nation, as we would to a shipload of lepers — ‘clear away from our coast’ — for we are a great people, though our Government is as flabby as a jellyfish, and we must preserve the pure British element with which we started — (an element of convictism and military tyranny).

“ This is a difficult question ; because it is not one of our own seeking, but arises from our geographical situation. But what is geography to a nation whose destiny is to send out her surplus population — people of her own grit and blood — to turn other people out of their country, and then fill it with humanitarian and Christian Britons ” — (who can no more stand the climate than they can make their actions conform with humanitarian or Christian principles) !

“I’ll alter the course of the Atlantic Ocean before I’ll spoil
my map.”

Mark Twain’s Map of Paris.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPEECH OF THE LEADER OF THE LABOR PARTY.

Mr. Watson's utterances upon this question are entitled to prominence because of the position he occupies as leader of the Labor Party in the Commonwealth Parliament, and also because he was the mover of an important amendment upon the test clause in the Bill with the object of excluding "any person who is an aboriginal native of Asia, Africa, or of the islands thereof."

His speech may therefore be properly regarded and examined as a representative exposition of the views of the political party that he leads.

One cannot help a feeling of sympathy with the labor party in connection with this matter. The conditions of life in which the

great majority of them have been brought up, and with which all of them are familiar, have been of the hardest kind. The struggle for existence with the forces of physical nature, under circumstances which have allowed them but small opportunity for enjoying the good things which they play such an important part in producing, has given to them a keen perception that there is something wrong in the general conduct of affairs. And they have looked in vain to the contending factions of legislators from the classes socially and pecuniarily above them, for an amelioration of their lot. Whether a protectionist or a so-called free trade government was in power did not seem to make any appreciable difference to them ; so that it is hardly to be wondered at that the first use they made of the accession of political strength, which the adoption of the policy of "one man, one vote" gave them, was to attempt to secure Parliamentary representatives from their own class.

Nor should it cause surprise that these representatives should be eager to enact legislation which, to their constituents, would

seem calculated to bring about immediate results. The necessities of their constituents are urgent. They are anxious for something which will benefit them at once, and are more to be pitied than blamed for failing to see the ultimate tendencies of legislative acts which are passed with a special object in view. The fact that "protection" of one particular industry can only operate at the expense of other industries—which in their turn agitate for similar treatment, until an extension of the policy brings about a general depression—is one that it is difficult to get the men to consider who expect to reap the immediate benefit. Consequently, the proposals which have been formulated into a political labor platform are all of a nature calculated to receive the solid support of a block vote large enough to give a selected candidate at election times a tremendous advantage over an opponent who appeals to first principles.

The desire for more comfort—which is synonymous with more wages—is so universal and so natural that a political party which promises to satisfy it forthwith is as popular with the unthinking multitude to-day as Jack

Cade was with his followers four centuries and a half ago.

Said Cade: "There shall be in England seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny; the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer . . . there shall be no money; all shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers."

In the minds of Jack Cade and his men education was a crime, and a poor clerk who was brought before him, caught in the monstrous and villainous act of "setting boys' copies," was ordered to be hanged "with his pen and ink-horn about his neck."

It is saddening to think how little advance has been made in the popular ideas upon politico-economic subjects in half a thousand years. Indeed, the professed beliefs of some of our prominent and titled legislators are more absurd than Jack Cade's programme. It is deliberately asserted that the adoption of a protective tariff will enable a country to save the entire cost of imports; or, as the phrase runs, "to have the goods and the money too."

Voters are asked to tax themselves for their own benefit, and are assured that taxation will not increase prices, but reduce them. It is further asserted that, in the taxation of imports, it is the foreigner who pays the tax, and not the local consumer. And when depressions and "hard times" occur, there are those who will explain that they are caused by "over production"; or, in other words, it is claimed that the reason why so many people have not enough wealth is because too much of it is being produced.

These preposterous notions do not originate with the labor party. They have been solemnly held and advocated by learned professors, and by statesmen "whom the King delighteth to honor."

But the dominant idea of the labor party is that work is a boon, and that there is not enough of it to go round amongst all the workers. Consequently, they look upon any one as a benefactor who will provide them with employment, and regard with aversion any labor-saving invention, or any competitor in the labor market. When the competitor is a fellow countryman his competition is

sought to be checked by legislation which will prevent him from working more than a certain number of hours per day. And should a man, yielding to the pressure of necessity, accept a lower than the ordinary rate of remuneration for his services, the most opprobrious epithets are heaped upon him, among the mildest of which are "scab" and "black-leg." But when the competitor is an "alien," a native of another country, and has a skin of a darker hue, the aversion seems to become a sort of frenzied fear, which expels from the minds of those who cherish it every sentiment of humanity, dignity, courage, common sense and fair play.

And the pity of it is that the working classes appear to be cultivating an attitude which renders it difficult to teach them better. It is perfectly safe to say that none of the leaders of their party dare utter a word which could be construed into an expression of doubt as to the wisdom of adhering rigidly to the principle of the absolute exclusion of colored aliens. If it occurred to one of them that the fears of a threatened invasion of alien competitors were baseless; or

that the results of such an invasion, if it did take place, would in no respect differ, under existing circumstances, from the results of a similar increase of population from Great Britain, or America; or that the natural increase of the local population is gradually producing exactly similar results—he would either have to keep his opinion to himself, or else give up his position to some one less thoughtful or less honest.

If, then, the labor voters make it impossible for their own leaders to enlighten them, from whom are they to learn?

Mr. Watson began his speech by complimenting Sir William McMillan. He proceeded: "The objection I have to the mixing of these colored people with the white people of Australia—although I admit it is to a large extent tinged with considerations of an industrial nature—lies in the main in the possibility and probability of racial contamination." He then gave the whole case away by saying: "I think we should gauge this matter, not alone by the abstract possibilities of the case, but by those considerations which

appeal to our ordinary human weaknesses and prejudices."

It is, unfortunately, not a new thing for a measure to be advocated by appeals to human weakness and prejudice, but it is a novelty to find a public speaker simple enough to admit it. Mr. Watson is entitled to all credit for his candor; but it is questionable whether he deserves much for his judgment. To confess that an appeal to prejudice is necessary is to confess that the case cannot be supported by argument; and this should be sufficient to call for a careful examination of any other statements made by the appellant.

And it really seems as though Mr. Watson's remark to the effect that his main objection to the admission of colored people was the possibility of racial contamination is open to question. For he said (p. 4636 "Hansard"): "We have room for every man who has a standard of living equal to our own, and whose general tone is in no way inferior to that of our own people." If the standard of living can be determined by any other tests than those of wages and education, Mr.

Watson might have enumerated them. It is evident, however, that he bars education, because he said, "The more educated the Oriental becomes, the worse he is likely to be from our point of view. He becomes more cunning and more able, with his peculiar ideas of social and business morality, to cope with the people here." So from this it would appear that it is the ability to cope with the people *here* that forms the danger. If this is not an industrial consideration, what is it?

One may search in vain through Mr. Watson's speeches, either upon the second reading of the Bill, or in moving his amendment in committee, for anything but unsubstantiated statements with reference to the "contamination" question. Why, for instance, did he not enlarge upon the "peculiar Oriental ideas of social and business morality?" There are many men in Australia who do business with Orientals—which Mr. Watson does not—and whose testimony he might have easily obtained upon this point. But when a man admittedly appeals to "human weaknesses and prejudices," he is not usually too anxious in his search for evidence.

With regard to the question of the importation of labor under contract, a good deal that Mr. Watson said is worthy of careful attention. Nor is it necessary to cast any doubt upon the sincerity of his remarks concerning the misrepresentations which are made with the object of inducing people in other countries to come and bind themselves into practical slavery.

But who is responsible for these misrepresentations?—or (what would perhaps be easier to discover) who profits by them? What sort of “social and business morality” must the other parties to the contract have—the white Australian employers? Has Mr. Watson no word for them?

He said: “It is to prevent such people (the imported contract laborer and artisan) being imposed upon, and binding themselves into slavery in ignorance, that some such clause as the one suggested should be passed” (that is, a clause prohibiting the entry of any colored people whatever into the Commonwealth).

But if Mr. Watson is to be credited with sincerity in this desire, he cannot be compli-

mented upon the logic of his proposal for carrying it into effect. It is as though, in the fulness of his sympathy with a Frenchman who had had his pocket picked by an Australian, Mr. Watson should suggest that no Frenchman should be allowed to land in Australia. It is reminiscent of the action of the woman who wished to obtain a divorce from her husband, because she had good grounds for believing that he was not the father of her last child.

A simple and expeditious way to prevent the poor foreigner from being imposed upon would be to abolish the law of contract, so far as it refers to imported labor. Let the heathen in his blindness discover, on arriving in this humanitarian and Christian land, that, although he may have been deceived by some unscrupulous agent with regard to the conditions of his work, or the relative value of his remuneration, yet the general tone of our "social and business morality" is so pure, and the spirit of our legislation so just and equitable, that he would not be expected, and could not be compelled, to fulfil the terms of an agree-

ment in which a contemptible and mean advantage had been taken of his ignorance.

And a patriotic labor party, with about half as much regard for the moral character of the community as they profess to have about its complexion, might employ that peculiar persuasiveness which has already had such a marked effect upon the policies of several ministries, in securing the passage of an Act which would impose upon the man or the corporation for whom the deluded foreigner was expected to work, the cost of sending him back to his own country.

But the hopelessness of expecting so direct and efficacious a measure to emanate from the labor party seems to lie (according to Mr. Watson) in the fact that there is nothing in its advocacy which could constitute an "appeal to human weakness and prejudice."

In moving his amendment in committee, Mr. Watson gave a careful definition of the limitations which the labor party places upon the doctrine of equality. Now, in this connection, equality is synonymous with freedom. There can be no freedom without equality. Freedom is a condition in which the equal

rights of all are equally respected, and any limitation of the doctrine of equal rights is an invasion of the principle of liberty, which only requires time and circumstance to be productive of disaster.

The pathetic complaint of the American slave-owner affords an illustration of the grotesqueness of some people's ideas upon the subject of freedom. "Do you call this a free country," he indignantly inquired, "when a man can't do as he likes with his own nigger?"

There is no doubt that this American honestly felt that his personal rights had been interfered with and curtailed in a most injurious manner; that the treatment he had received was "the thin end of the wedge" of a dangerous innovation, which in time might even go so far as to deprive him of all the privileges involved in the ownership of a fellow-being. The possibility of a wrong having been done to the "nigger" was an idea which could not enter his mind, in consequence of the distorted and exaggerated notions he cherished about his own rights. He would probably have denied that his "nigger" was a fellow-creature at all, or, in

the convenient phraseology of Mr. Watson, he would have "reserved his right to say who should be"—fellow-creatures.

Said Mr. Watson: "We have claimed that all citizens should have equal opportunities. We never say that 'all men are equal.' No sensible set of men would ever say so. But we say that every man should be equal with every other man in the eyes of the law, and that equal opportunities should be afforded *so far as the law can allow*" [a curious qualification from a law maker, by the way] "to every citizen. *And we reserve the right to say who should be citizens.*"

Just so. But whence does this right of reservation originate? Is it inherent in the labor party? It is all very well for Mr. Watson and his party to reserve to themselves the right to deprive others of citizenship—because that is really what the reservation amounts to, the particular individuals to whom it is applied being merely a matter of detail—but can their claim be conceded? If so, may we not have freetraders claiming that protectionists ought not to be citizens, because they are not upon the mental or moral level

of free traders? Then what about religious parties? Already there are symptoms of a renewal of religious bigotry (which has been slumbering for a few years) in Australian politics. Will Mr. Watson say that the professors of one particular religious sect, which might be the more numerous, would have the right to disfranchise their opponents, on the ground that they are not on the same religious level? If not, why not? May they not say, if they find themselves possessed of the power, in the words of Mr. Watson, "we reserve the right to say who shall be citizens"?

—Viewed in the light of his peculiar ideas upon equality, liberty and rights, a subsequent remark of Mr. Watson's is rather comical. Quoth he: "True statesmanship, to my mind, consists, not in putting forward a number of plausible platitudes and philosophical meanderings in this Chamber, but in looking ahead," &c. It might be said that in this phrase Mr. Watson had unconsciously described his own speech, but for two things: 1st—his platitudes were not plausible, and 2nd—his meanderings were certainly not philosophical.

"Is our civilization a failure,
Or is the Caucasian played out?"

Bret. Harte.

"Yes."

Mr. Deakin.

"When Mrs. O'Flannagan borrowed her neighbor's wash-tubs, she replied to the charge of returning them in a damaged condition—1st., that she never borrowed them; 2nd., that they were quite sound when she sent them back; and 3rd, that they were damaged when she got them."

Every Man his own Attorney-General.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SPEECH OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, MR. DEAKIN.

It is unnecessary to follow all the participants in this debate through the mazes of sophistry in which they wandered in their attempts to find excuses for doing what they had already committed themselves to. There is a tedious sameness about all the speeches which was dignified by the name of unanimity. Each speaker, with one or two exceptions (to be referred to hereafter) seemed fully alive to the fact that so long as he was sound upon the main question of closing Australia to any member of the human family whose skin was not of a certain shade, he need not fear criticisms of the reasons which he

might adduce. That these reasons were mutually destructive in many instances made no difference in the applause with which they were received ; as, for example, when some members spoke of the evils that arose from the mingling of white Australians with alien races, while other members objected to the aliens because they kept to themselves and would not mingle with Australians. Then some members objected to the ignorant alien, while others objected with equal force to the educated one.

But it remained for the Right Honorable the Attorney-General, Mr. Deakin, to deliver an oration in which was comprised all the inconsistencies and contradictions of the previous speakers, capped by a confession which, if it were true, may claim to have plumbed the depths of national humiliation ; while, if it were not true, it constitutes a slander upon Australians which should be repelled with indignation and scorn.

He said: "We here find ourselves touching the profoundest instinct of individual or nation — the instinct of self-preservation — for it is nothing less than the national manhood, the

national character, the national future, that are at stake."

By what great danger is Australia threatened, which imperils its manhood, its character and its future? Mr. Deakin supplies the answer promptly — "the admixture of our people with other races." Yet in the very next sentence he says: "It is not necessary to reflect upon them even by implication. It is only necessary to say that they *do not* and *cannot* blend with us; that we do not, cannot, and ought not to blend with them."

Can it be possible that Mr. Deakin is unaware of the terrible confusion of mind which his words betoken? To blend means to mix or to mingle together, and an admixture is the result of blending or mingling. If then we *do not* and *cannot* blend with other races, the question of whether we ought not may be left out of consideration. And if they do not, and cannot, blend with us, the impossibility of our blending with them is obvious. But perhaps Mr. Deakin was anxious to announce his opinion as to the impossibility of "the admixture of our people with other races" in a particularly impressive and emphatic manner.

It seems then, according to Mr. Deakin, that the national manhood, the national character, the national future, are threatened with an *impossible* danger, which nevertheless touches the profoundest instinct of individual or nation—the instinct of self-preservation. Is this the language of a statesman?

Then, with respect to his remark that “it is not necessary to reflect upon them” (that is, the other races) “even by implication.” Does Mr. Deakin really consider that it is no reflection upon other races to assert that the presence in Australia of members of those races constitutes a menace to its manhood, its character, and its future? And is there no implication of reflection in his reference to the “contamination” and “degradation” possible to Australia from the association with the peoples of other races?

But to Mr. Deakin also belongs the honor (or the disgrace—at any rate, the distinction) of having made the direct statement, in the name of the Commonwealth Government,* that the measure was “primarily aimed against the”

*Mr. DEAKIN.— . . . I am speaking, not merely for myself, but for the Government . . . (p. 4807, “Hansard”).

Japanese." The trouble seems to have been that the Bill was "primarily aimed" to encourage any or every cowardly or absurd notion which might be conjured up in the scared imagination of a protectionist or socialistic agitator.

However, according to Mr. Deakin, the Bill was primarily aimed against the Japanese. And why? Let Mr. Deakin answer. He said: "I say that the Japanese require to be absolutely excluded. I contend that the Japanese require to be excluded because of their *high abilities*. I quite agree with the honorable member for Moreton that the Japanese are the most dangerous because they most nearly approach us, and would, therefore, be our most formidable competitors. It is not the bad qualities, but the *good* qualities of these alien races that make them dangerous to us. It is their inexhaustible energy, their power of applying themselves to new tasks, their endurance, and *low standard of living* that makes them such competitors."

Let us consider this last matter first—the question of a low standard of living. It is the argument which appeals with most telling effect

to the laboring classes, and is the favorite platform phrase of the protectionist demagogue, who, with a finely-simulated sympathy for the "poor toiler," will ask how he can expect to receive a decent wage when he has to compete against a colored man who works for a few pence per day. And, having obtained the assent of his audience to the proposition that an Indian ryot can beat an Englishman at rice-gathering, or that a negro can pick cotton on a southern plantation better than a white American, or that a kanaka can cut cane in the tropics better than a white Australian—to what use does he proceed to put this admission? Is the privilege of engaging in such menial occupations, in such temperatures, and under such conditions—at five, or even ten, times the rate of pay now received by the colored men—so great a boon as to merit a display of ecstatic gratitude on the part of the white men for whom it might be secured? One would think that, with such mountains of oratorical philanthropy in labor, something more would be brought forth than the ridiculous mice of the chance to do colored men's work in a colored man's climate.

But if protective tariffs are imposed for the purpose of restricting the competition of laborers with a low standard of living, will some protectionist explain why the United States imposes duties on Australian products; or why, with the exception of New South Wales, the various States forming the Australian Commonwealth imposed duties on inter-colonial products prior to the adoption of the Constitution; or why West Australia is even now allowed to tax (for a period of five years) the products of the various States with which she is federated; or why the Commonwealth Government, in a time of great distress, resulting from a terrible drought affecting several of the States, persisted in taxing New Zealand fodder? Were Victorian protectionists afraid of the low standard of living of New South Wales laborers when they imposed a stock tax, while at the same time free laborers from Victoria were pouring in to New South Wales to take the places of shearers on strike?

Of all the argumentative subterfuges resorted to by protectionists, this "low standard of living" cry is the most miserable. But it is popular, because the man who would expose its

fallacy lays himself open to the ready taunt that he is in favor of "cheap labor." And yet, where is the man, even among the labor party, who is *not* in favor of cheap labor? Does any sensible man knowingly pay one penny more than he need pay for anything he buys? If so, it will be found, upon investigation, that it is for some special sentimental reason, affecting a special case, and that he endeavors to compensate for it by extra economy in other directions.

Cheap labor must not be confused with low-priced labor. The old trade maxim, "Quality is the test of cheapness," is a true one; and, as a matter of fact, low-priced labor never was, and never can be, as effective or as cheap as high-priced labor. A low standard of living—the result of low-priced labor—results in a low standard of intelligence, a low standard of physique, and a low standard of moral qualities. In all the industries where low-priced colored laborers are employed—who have been deceived and deluded (as Mr. Watson pointed out) by the terms of the contracts which make them practically slaves—the rate of mortality among them is shockingly high; and it is capable of easy demonstration

that it would be much more profitable to the employers to pay these very men higher wages. That greed and prejudice and the brutality and callousness engendered by the circumstances of the business blind these employers to their own interest, is a feature of the case which is no less true because it is a strong reflection upon them.

There is not one of the labor representatives in Parliament—not one laboring man in the world, probably—who will deny that low wages, and a low standard of living must result in a low standard of all the qualities which make for the progress of a community.

Then what becomes of Mr. Deakin's contention in this respect with regard to the Japanese? Has he not "sawn off the branch between himself and the tree?" Are "inexhaustible energy, the power of applying themselves to new tasks, endurance, and high abilities"—are these the sort of qualities produced by a low standard of living?

Mr. Deakin cannot escape from the position he has placed himself in. He is now before the world—not before a Parliament composed of men, many of whom have some

particular object of their own to serve, and will be thankful for any excuse, no matter how shallow, which may justify them in the course that, for reasons of their own, they have made up their minds to follow. Mr. Deakin has credited the Japanese nation (among others) with the possession of certain qualities. He has also charged them with a standard of living which is destructive of the very qualities that he has credited them with. One or other of his statements must go; for one destroys the other. Either the Japanese do *not* possess the good qualities with which Mr. Deakin has credited them—in which case the formidable danger of their competition with us disappears; or they *do* possess those qualities—in which case it is clear that Mr. Deakin is absolutely wrong in his statement as to their low standard of living.

The Right Honorable the Attorney-General seems to have been haunted, during his speech, by a fear lest he should, by some accident, fail to make the monstrous ridiculousness of his position sufficiently apparent. With Dogberry-like persistency he urges his claim to be properly written down. For he con-

tinues : “ It is the business qualities ; the business aptitude and general capacity of these people that make them dangerous ; and the fact that while they remain an element in our population they are incapable of being assimilated* makes them all the more to be feared.”

Here it will be seen that Mr. Deakin introduces a new element into the business—the element of *fear*. Long live Deakin, the Pusillanimous !

All that need be said of this humiliating confession — an admission that we must apply an Act passed for the purpose of keeping people away from the country because of their undesirable, their contaminating and degrading qualities (in other words, our *inferiors*) to the purpose of shielding ourselves from the dreaded competition of our *superiors* — is that, if it reflects the sentiments of the people of Australia ; if it is anything but a libel upon the manhood of Australia ; then not only is Australia’s star already on the wane, but the sooner it sets, the better.

*Then where is the awful danger of their “ admixture ” with us which threatens our national character, future, &c. ?

What does the logic of this contention amount to? Australia is to keep out all inferior peoples, because (again in the words of Mr. Deakin) "the effect of the contact of two peoples, such as our own and those constituting the alien races, is not to lift them up to our standard, but to drag our population down to theirs." And it is also to exclude those people who possess high qualities and high abilities, because we are afraid of their competition with us. Then whom shall we admit?

Better call at once for tenders for a high barbed-wire fence to be put around Australia (and Tasmania), and raise the funds for its cost by an import duty on goods which, in conformity with Mr. Alfred Deakin's fiscal creed, are to be kept out of the country for the purpose of protecting the local manufacturer.

Unless Mr. Deakin has grossly slandered his countrymen in this most contemptible speech, he deserves to be addressed in the terms used by the king of Brobdingnag to Gulliver, as follows:—"My little friend Grildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country. . . . But by

what I have gathered from your own relation . . . I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."



“ Alone stood brave Horatius,
But constant still in mind.”

Macaulay.

CHAPTER XII.

MR. BRUCE SMITH'S SPEECH.

This debate would have lost much of its picturesqueness, and much of its historical value as an indication of current political thought, if one feature had been lacking. The appeals of the labor party to weakness and prejudice were responded to with avidity by other sections of the House, and received general applause and approval from the press; magnates of the Government and important personages on the direct Opposition seemed to vie with each other in their eagerness to dance to the tune of the labor piping; the rank and file of Government and direct Opposition supporters supplied a continual fire of interjections and interruptions calculated to manufacture a spurious brand of patriotic sentiment, and to incite the speakers to further oratorical flights of rodomontade.

Or, to employ another figure of speech. The House had assembled for a carousal. The labor party had provided a large bowl of intoxicating refreshment labelled—deliberately labelled—“appeals to human weaknesses and prejudices.” The Government beverage was a Victorian decoction (the label had been carefully taken off) and was composed of a skilful blend of protection and socialism, with a dash of imperialism in it to disguise its otherwise pronounced flavor, which some of their supporters did not like. The Opposition brought nothing to the picnic. Their favorite beverage used to be a temperance drink called “common sense”; but, since the year 1891, this drink had been surreptitiously adulterated on more than one occasion with the labor fluid, until there were many who asserted that they could not recognise it as the party liquor at all. Moreover, there was a well authenticated rumor to the effect that the Opposition had none of it in stock at the time, no replenishment having taken place since the time when the leader (either accidentally or purposely—a point that has never been satisfactorily decided) left the running of the last full barrel, and wasted

all of it, just before he addressed a public meeting at the Sydney Town Hall on the Federal Constitution Bill.

But the House was called together for its carousal. And, there being no genuine Opposition liquor, the alleged free traders and liberals, with one exception, drank deeply and indiscriminately from the Government and Labor bowls, with an effect upon their sobriety which soon became apparent—though evidently not to themselves, nor to each other.

As the carousal proceeded, the one exception, Mr. Bruce Smith, found himself in the position of the only sober person present. The rest of the company, however, had reached that peculiar stage of muddled profundity in which inebriated people discern signs of intoxication in those who are sober, while they themselves and their cup-companions appear (*to themselves*) to be temperate to a degree.

“Brother Tadger, you are drunk, sir!” said the Reverend Mr. Stiggins at the meeting of the Brick Lane Branch of the United Grand Junction Ebenezer Temperance Association ; and Mr. Bruce Smith’s speech was punctuated by the metaphorical hiccups of an audience,

who were fully persuaded that he ought to sign the pledge.

Said Mr. Bruce Smith : " I am very much afraid that the remarks I intend to make will seem exceedingly heterodox after the very continuous flow of advocacy for a White Australia, and for the necessity for taking up a strong attitude towards the Japanese Government in this connexion. . . . I think that this measure is a very important one . . . and the results of this debate will constitute a sort of mirror in which we, as a people, can be seen by other nations ; because, for the first time in Australian history, we are put to the test to demonstrate our sincerity in using so many glib phrases, which, though they apply admirably when they involve concessions *by* other people, yet seem to change their meaning altogether the moment they involve concessions *to* others.

" We talk very fluently, especially in one part of this House, about the equality of man. Whenever gentlemen who use that term very freely appeal to it, I always observe that it is in order to obtain some concession for the particular class which they represent. . .

‘The equality of man!’ When we enquire ‘what man?’ we may be told ‘Australians.’

“We talk much, too, from time to time, about the open door; and, in national political phraseology, it is generally taken to mean that the doors shall be open which we wish to force open. But, when other nations talk about opening *our* doors for the purpose of letting *their* products into our country, we find that the very men who are most free in the use of this phrase immediately change their attitude, and, in effect, say: ‘We want *your* door to be open, but *our* door is not be open.’”

No wonder that at this stage the speaker had to break off the thread of his discourse to reply to “interruptions!”

But he continued: “The statesmen and thinkers in all parts of the world, who closely study the history of other nations, are watching carefully the spirit we show and the attitude we are going to take on this particular question. We are being put to the test; we should remember this when we speak of the open door, of the equality of men, and of our Christian principles; and when, at the very moment we are sending forth our people to

preach those Christian principles to others, we propose to turn round and shut out many of those whom we are seeking to convert to those principles. Although we are being carefully reported in "Hansard" and in our local newspapers, our words are even more wide-winged. They are going out to the larger world. We are being put to the test, not merely as parochial politicians, but as statesmen; to be judged by our utterances how far we are capable of grasping our position as a part of the Empire, and as one of the many powerful peoples who now have to deal with the politics of the world.

"This is a very great responsibility; and when I hear men talk, not carelessly perhaps, but as if they could not see beyond the limits of their own particular locality, I cannot help thinking that it does not bid fair for our future if we should be thrown upon our own resources, instead of nestling snugly under the broad wing of the British Empire. It shows another thing to my mind: it illustrates in some respect the extent of our knowledge of other peoples. . . . Men speak of the Japanese nation as if they were a simple

horde of people living in a disorganised way, without anything approaching to the constitutional or civilized perfection that we ourselves have reached."

Mr. CROUCH (hiccupping — metaphorically, of course): "No one has said that in this House." (A reference to "Hansard" will show that its equivalent, or worse, was said scores of times during the debate).

Mr. BRUCE SMITH: "I am not referring to more enlightened men, such as the honorable and learned member, but to those who show disregard for the necessity of maintaining the friendship of a nation like Japan. . . . The Government have introduced a measure which proposes an educational test in one language, that of England: and if that Bill were before this House for its second reading, I should have no hesitation in voting against it. I think that to have a single test in a single language—that being our own—for the whole world, would have undoubtedly made us the laughing-stock of Europe. We should have been the butt of the whole civilized world if it were shown that we Australians had deliberately legislated to shut out of

Australia all Europeans who could not pass an examination in our own language. The whole question, however, is very much broadened by the suggestion that the test should be an European one; but I see a difficulty even in that case. I greatly respect the good opinion and friendship of the Japanese people, and I recognise that, by mentioning the names of European nations, and not mentioning Japan, we are significantly differentiating the Japanese from the Europeans. . . The amendment proposing an European test comes from the honorable member for Melbourne; but the honorable and learned member for Indi has made a further suggestion which has taken the form of an amendment that the languages should not be named at all.*

* It may be convenient to state here that the first amendment proposed in Committee was that of Mr. Watson (referred to on p. 85). This was lost on division by 36 votes to 31. Sir Malcolm McEacharn (Melbourne) then moved:

"That the words 'the English,' line 8, be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words 'an European.'"

Many other amendments and suggestions were made upon the educational test clause, which finally passed in the following form, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's previously expressed determination to "stick to the Bill":

Clause (a) "Any person who when asked to do so by any Officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the Officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the Officer."

“The further choice we have is one I have very little sympathy with—that is the proposal of the hon. member for Bland (Mr. Watson), which involves absolute prohibition. I have no sympathy with that whatever, and therefore, with these four choices before us, I am bound to say that until some of the amendments which will give greater scope to the *Japanese* are put into shape, my disposition is to favor the European educational test; because I am satisfied that a large proportion of the Japanese people are able to speak our language, or would be able to qualify themselves to come within the European test. . . .

“I am sure, from what I have heard in this Chamber, and from what I can see of the temperament of Federal members, that this is a matter upon which this Parliament is determined to legislate. When the head of the Government was introducing this measure in its original form, I interjected that it was a hypocritical measure, and he referred to my interjection as if to emphasise an indiscretion on my part.

“I do not, however, regret using that word, and . . . I say again that the Bill

as introduced was hypocritical in form, and to a great extent its form is still hypocritical. Whilst we are professing a profound anxiety about the educational qualifications of people who may come to our shores, the foundation of the Bill is racial prejudice, and the desire—I will not say the fear, though the word ‘fear’ has entered largely into some of the speeches that have been made—that some other races, who, by reason of their possessing certain qualities (which I think come under the category of old-fashioned virtues), shall not come here and be a menace to our industrial system.

“The Attorney-General has gone so far as to say—and I think it a humiliating confession—that the principal reason for shutting out the Japanese race is not that they are a low type of humanity or a degraded people, but that they are too thrifty. They work too hard, and they are too provident, and they possess so many of those old-fashioned virtues that we Britishers cannot compete with them in our daily life. That is one of the things which, I think, would be best left unsaid. I think it is a humiliating confession to go forth

to the world from one in so high a position, that the truth is that we are *afraid* to come into contact and competition with a race like the Japanese."

Mr. DEAKIN (squirming a little): "Because of their inferior standard of living. I was careful to explain that!" (Mr. Deakin has peculiar ideas as to what constitutes an explanation. What he did was to make two assertions, one of which was logically destructive of the other. And, as it happens, neither assertion was correct. The Japanese are *not* more enduring, nor more energetic, than the British; nor would any travelled man venture, in his sober senses, to say so. Nor is their standard of living inferior to that of Australians—no matter how many protectionists may say so. Mr. Deakin first insults his own country, and then, by way of explanation, misrepresents the Japanese.)

Mr. BRUCE SMITH: "That is a very general statement, which has been detailed by other honorable members. What is this inferior standard of living? . . . I recognize that there is an economic side to the question, . . . but I leave that for the pre-

sent. . . . We hear great complaints about the dirty, filthy, and insanitary conditions under which the Chinese live: but everyone knows that to live in that condition is *not peculiar to the Chinese*. We know what the condition of things was in Sydney three or four years ago—a condition of things which was said to have given rise to the Plague, and which was of such a disgraceful character that words could hardly describe it. Nor was that condition of things referable only to the Chinese quarter of the city. I want to be fair to these people. It is so easy to point to a hovel in a Chinese garden, and to say, ‘That is the condition in which these people live.’ When that statement is made it is only fair to point to the slums of many of our big cities, and to ask whether many of those of a *low type of our own race* are living under better conditions than the Chinese. . . . Although I do not want to stand here as a champion for the purpose of exalting these aliens beyond their deserts, I do stand here as one who wants to deal fairly with other races. . . . And I say that it is a humiliating confession on the part of the honorable and learned member for

Northern Melbourne that *his* reason, at all events, for not wishing to admit these people is that they are too good, too thrifty, too hard-working and too provident to be brought into competition with our own people."

MR. WILKS: "Too beastly virtuous!" (How is that for a fine, full-flavored, free trade and liberal, protestant Christian hiccup? The dignified manner in which Mr. Bruce Smith replied to this ignorant and offensive eructation is worthy of notice?)

MR. BRUCE SMITH: "One honorable member says—and this is only an example of the sort of language and sentiment indulged in—that they are 'too beastly virtuous.' I say that the public ought to hear these phrases; because they ought to know how far this sort of legislation is founded on hysteria, and how much is founded on good sense and good reasons. . . . This Bill has been forced on largely for political and electioneering purposes. . . . I do not accept it as a principle that, because a large number of anticipated members give a variety of assurances to their constituents that certain measures which have a popular flavor about them should be forced

on in the first session, that is a justification for the House precipitating those measures when there are other matters of much more importance to be dealt with. . . . The Immigration Restriction Bill has come forward prematurely, as I think I shall prove to the satisfaction of honorable members. . . . I have been very careful to look into the facts which I thought would justify this statement. We have heard a great deal about the terrible condition of things in Queensland, and we were told that a Dr. Maxwell was about to investigate the sugar industry and report for the edification of the Federal Parliament. That report has been published many weeks; but I have never heard anything of it from the party who are pressing this measure on. We are hearing no quotations from the report."

Mr. BARTON: "It has nothing to do with this measure."

Mr. BRUCE SMITH: "It has a great deal to do with the question of a 'White Australia.'"

Mr. BARTON: "That is another matter."
(Is it?)

Mr. BRUCE SMITH: "Perhaps the blackest people who come into Australia are the

kanakas. I am bound to say that I cannot separate this particular race from other aliens, when the broad general question of a 'White Australia' is being discussed. We hear much about the purity of races and the whiteness of peoples, and yet I am told that I am out of place in referring to the kanakas. Indeed, it has a very important bearing, because when we look into Dr. Maxwell's report, we find the astounding statement—astounding in the face of the electioneering statements which had been made previously—that during the last few years the number of kanakas in Queensland has actually been *reduced by 1900* instead of having been increased, and that the cultivation of sugar has gone up 150 or 200 per cent. Dr. Maxwell says in the plainest possible language that the kanaka is a *declining factor* in the Queensland sugar industry. . . .

“Then the public have been told over and over again that the purity and whiteness of the Australian Commonwealth is being endangered by the incursion of hordes of Asiatics. I say that *it is a fable*; it is altogether a fairy story. . . . I have had the advantage of looking at the figures of which I have spoken, and I

should like to point out the condition of things in the Northern territory—one of the States with regard to which we have heard the loudest and most hysterical cries. I refer to the condition of things in the Northern Territory of South Australia. We have been told over and over again that ‘herdes of Asiatics’ were coming down to land in this Northern Territory with the idea of taking a prominent part in the industries of that portion of the Commonwealth; but I find that between 1896 and 1901—that is six years—the arrivals over the departures of all the Asiatic races totalled only 550, or an increase at the rate of 90 per annum. I find that in Western Australia, during the last four years, the *departures over arrivals* of all Asiatics have totalled 375, so that the Asiatic population of that colony has *decreased* at the rate of 100 per annum during the last four years. . . . In New South Wales, taking the Chinese only—because the return enables me only to do that—I find that, during the last six years, the *departures over arrivals* have been 1900; that the Chinese have been actually *leaving* the State of New South Wales during the last six years at the rate of 330 per

annum. . . . The returns for South Australia are not complete. . . . Those for Tasmania are also incomplete ; but, with regard to Victoria, 2400 ' Chinese and others '—that is how they are classified in the Victorian statistics, and I take it that the figures all relate to the peoples of eastern nations—have arrived during the last six years, or at the rate of 400 per annum.* In Queensland, in six years, the arrivals over departures, of South Sea Islanders only, have been 2000, or at the rate of 333 per annum, and the arrivals over departures of all Asiatics—including kanakas, I suppose—3900 for the six years, or at the rate of 650 per annum. This, therefore, is a yearly summary of the figures :—In the Northern Territory the arrivals over departures were 90 per annum ; in Western Australia the departures over arrivals were 100 ; In New South Wales the departures over arrivals were 330 ; in Victoria the arrivals were 400 ; whilst in Queensland the arrivals over departures were 650 a year. The total arrivals are 1140, and the total departures 430 ; so that the total arrivals over depar-

*It seems singular that Mr. Bruce Smith did not give the *departures* from Victoria for the same period.

tures for *all Australia of all Asiatics*† were 710 people.‡

“Now taking the Japanese§ alone, what is the state of things? The Japanese have been referred to frequently, but I can only take the statistics dealing with them for a period of two years. I find that in Western Australia the arrivals during the last two years were 29, while the departures were 86! In Queensland there were 206 arrivals, and 584 *departures* during the same period! There is no record as to the departures from New South Wales, so I count none, but there is a record of 42 arrivals. Therefore the departures (over arrivals) of Japanese from the three States of Western Australia, Queensland and New South Wales for the last two years were 390; so that the Japanese, as far as any one can ascertain, have been *leaving* these three States at the rate of 195 per annum, during the last two years, instead of coming into them. . . . It must

†Including *kanakas*.

‡That is, supposing either that no departures from Victoria took place, or that the figures quoted by Mr. Bruce Smith are for “arrivals over departures,” and not for arrivals only, as stated—a matter which is, at any rate, in doubt.

§Against whom Mr. Deakin said the measure was “primarily ed.”

be quite clear to anyone who approaches the report of Dr. Maxwell with an unbiassed mind, that the kanaka is a declining factor in Queensland. If honorable members acknowledge—as I have demonstrated—that such is the case, and that the arrivals over departures of all other Asiatic peoples in Australia are so infinitesimal as compared with our enormous population and our increase of population, then I think they will see clearly that this measure is not only premature, but hysterical!

“It is hysterical because it is based upon an assumption, on the part of people who have not been able to look into these things for themselves, that we are in the presence of a menace to the purity of our national life; whereas the whole thing is a *bogey*—a scarecrow! I venture to say that a large part of the scare is founded upon a desire to make political capital by appealing to some of the worst instincts in some of the more credulous of the people.”

Mr. FISHER: “What about the large number of honorable members who believe in it?” (Mr. Fisher might have been told that a “large number of honorable members” in

the English parliament used to believe in the necessity for laws against witchcraft, and that those laws outraged and disgraced humanity for hundreds of years. He might have been told, further, that, if there were any sense in his interjection; if it were anything more than a prejudiced "hiccup"; if the numbers of people who profess to believe in a certain doctrine are any proof of its truth—then he ought at once to turn Buddhist.)

MR. BRUCE SMITH: "I name none of them. I do not say that there are not many politicians, here and elsewhere, who are perfectly sincere in their advocacy of measures for the reduction of this immigration; but I contend that, so far as a large number of the people are concerned, the cry is hysterical, and that political capital lies at the bottom of it. I do not want to be invidious or personal; nor do I apply my words to any particular section; but I do say that this scare has been used for political purposes. The moment we analyze it we find that it vanishes away into thin air."

This calm, dignified and logical speech
's out in bold relief against the dark back-

ground of *ad captandum* oratory by which it was surrounded. It shines like "a good deed in a naughty world." It reminds one of the central figure in a large painting by an artist like Gustave Doré—the effect of contrast is so pronounced.

It is a pity and a wonder, however, that Mr. Bruce Smith (who was one of the foremost advocates of Federation) did not see that its adoption, under the Constitution that was framed, must of necessity create conditions in which legislation of this character, and equally injurious Acts to follow, were inevitable.

But it is not too much to say that he has saved the reputation of Australia in the eyes of the thinking men of all nations, so far as it was in the power of one man to save it upon such an occasion. And there are thousands of men and women in Australia who regard him with feelings of the deepest gratitude and admiration for having voiced their sentiments of indignant protest against an Act which, had this speech not been delivered, would have gone forth as the *unanimous* expression of the will of the Australian people. What a reproach

would that have been to the manhood and intelligence of the Commonwealth !

But Mr. Bruce Smith need not think that, because he stood alone in the Parliament, he stands alone in the country. Elijah of old, on one occasion, thought that he was the only man left in the nation faithful to his principles ; but he was told, on the best of authority, that there were yet left seven thousand in Israel who " had not bowed the knee to Baal."

In the complexities of Australian politics ; among the multifarious catch cries which are raised by political wire-pullers at election times to divert the attention of voters from important issues which affect their welfare—and which the majority of candidates appear only too anxious to dodge—it is within the region of possibility that a strong attempt may be made to defeat Mr. Bruce Smith when he next offers himself for re-election. The forces of prejudice, ignorance, and renegadism, which he scathed so philosophically, yet so unmercifully, are not too forgiving ; and he may pay the penalty for his intrepidity by the loss of his seat. But he can never lose the approval of a manly conscience ; nor can the record be easily obliterated of his

having boldly stood in the breach—alone, as his fellow members were so insistent in pointing out—on an occasion which tested the sincerity of the principles of every professed freetrader and liberal in the House, and, with the solitary exception of his own, found them wanting. “*Exegit monumentum aere perennius.*”



“Never had mortal man such opportunity.”

Byron.

“We trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed
Israel.”

Luke xxiv., 21.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SPEECH OF THE
LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION,
MR. G. H. REID.

Mr. G. H. Reid is a man to whom the free-traders of Australia owe much for past services. At the time when he was elected leader of the freetrade party of New South Wales, the political atmosphere was in a peculiarly electric condition, and it required a man possessing special qualifications to lead that party back to the position from which it had been ousted by the shameful inconsistency of previous leaders.

The freetrade party itself was divided on the question of the Land Tax, which, though as a measure of direct taxation it was a natural corollary of freetrade, was distasteful to many of the party; and Mr. Reid had to face the

country with a programme which some of his own professed supporters would have been more than half glad to see defeated. The protectionists of New South Wales were never more thoroughly united than at this time, and, in addition, there was the labor party with its growing organisation, and its tempting programme of Jack-Cadeism to be reckoned with. Then the freetrade press were, at best, only half-hearted in the support they gave to the leader; but, in spite of all these difficulties, the victory was won.

Mr. Reid must have had a tremendous amount of quiet and unostentatious assistance from men who supported him from the highest and most disinterested motives (if real patriotism can ever be said to be absolutely disinterested, seeing that its efforts are put forward to achieve results which, if obtained, must benefit all). But that is no detracting from the merit of his victory.

His wonderful gift of speech, his striking personality, his high-pitched and strident voice, his unvarying good humor on the platform, his quickness of repartee, his indefatigable energy, his singular approachableness (such a rare

quality in a prominent public man), were attributes which combined to produce an individuality that attracted every one. His bitterest political foes affected a contempt for him which their every action belied. Lampoons and cartoons, exaggerating every physical peculiarity, had little or no effect upon his imperturbability. They merely advertised him; they added to the public curiosity and interest in his movements, and gave him additional opportunities for making the points that he wished to make. It is questionable whether any other man in Australia could have accomplished the task which he undertook.

But if Mr. Reid's merits should not be underrated, neither should they be overrated. The defeat of protectionism in New South Wales was a task calling for the exercise of more skill than would have been required for the maintenance of freetrade after its establishment. And it seems a strange thing that the man who could perform the greater feat should have failed to perform the lesser.

Australia was much more prosperous, commercially and financially, three years ago than she now is. And New South Wales was,

actually and provably, the soundest, commercially and financially, of the colonies which form the Commonwealth. The Federal Constitution, which now binds the States together with fetters that are chafing and galling more and more every day, is proving itself to have been an ingenious device on the part of a certain political section for the purpose of enabling them to escape (for a time) the odium of the effects of their discredited and disastrous policy.

Protectionism was *in articulo mortis* in Victoria, and the protectionist leaders in that colony were at their wits' ends to find explanations and excuses for its failure. No wonder that they hailed with delight the prospects of a political campaign which should have as its professed motive a measure of freetrade, to which they could give their nominal adherence, without being compelled to acknowledge the absolute defeat of their policy. And it is safe to claim that while, in all the "protected" colonies, the Federation movement had the support of every freetrader, because of the greater commercial freedom which the removal of the intercolonial tariffs would give in those

colonies, its greatest support in New South Wales came from the protectionists (who sighed for the special privileges expected from a federal tariff) and from the half-hearted free traders who have always preferred a hybrid policy to direct taxation.

If Mr. Reid had only had sufficient confidence in the forces which had operated to make him the foremost man in the leading colony of Australia; if he had only had the courage to persist in his original attitude of distrust of the transparent and glaringly nefarious terms of the proposed Federal compact; if he had had the courage to insist that the condition precedent to any Federal union between the colonies should be the absolute and inviolate preservation of the commercial freedom which New South Wales enjoyed; the nominal federation of Australia might have been delayed for a while; but every day's delay would have brought the time nearer when the other colonies would have been compelled, by the force of example and of circumstances, to abandon protection; and the abandonment of protection would have con-

stituted at once an actual federation ; for *federation and freetrade are synonymous terms.*

The receptions which Mr. Reid now gets when he visits the other states, and delivers public addresses upon the fiscal question, are sufficient evidence of the existence of a considerable freetrade spirit in what have been hitherto regarded as protectionist strongholds. But the complications arising out of the union; the indirect and unrecognised effects of the federal tariff ; the conservative dislike of perpetual fiscal conflict ; the growing influence of disguised protection and half-confessed socialism in the ranks of the labor party ; the sensitiveness of vested interests, and the perverted ideas that are current upon the subject of the public credit in the British money market ;—are all circumstances which tend to make the prospects of fiscal freedom for the Commonwealth much more remote than they would have been had Mr. Reid not made his fatal mistake in the year 1900, which resulted in the immediate sacrifice of the freedom of New South Wales, and in the indefinite postponement of the hope of freedom for Australia. To use an old phrase : “ It was worse than

a crime ; it was a blunder," — it was almost the only way possible for him to cancel, in one act, all the obligations which a loyal party were only too anxious and glad to acknowledge.

Nor will Mr. Reid's future efforts in the freetrade cause rehabilitate his damaged prestige to any appreciable extent if they continue to be accompanied by such lapses from liberal principle as were displayed in his speech upon the Immigration Restriction Bill.

He began by cautiously, skilfully and courteously repudiating any connection with Mr. Bruce Smith, whose philosophical manner, he thought, often did him (Mr. Bruce Smith) great injustice.* What kind of injustice may be done by a philosophical manner, or what are the special symptoms of a philosophical manner, were trifling points which were left unexplained.

But Mr. Reid continued : " The speech made by the honorable and learned member for Parkes was made entirely without any sort of consultation with me. I had not the

*" Even my honorable and learned friend, in spite of the philosophical manner which often does him great injustice, must, I am sure, etc., etc."—(p. 5167 " Hansard.")

slightest knowledge of the line which the honorable member proposed to take, and . . . I never sought to influence his views in the matter at all. His speech was one which he delivered entirely on his own responsibility."

And so let it be. But Mr. Reid's eagerness to disclaim any complicity in what Mr. Bruce Smith said upon this subject is, perhaps, a matter of secondary importance—so far as the merits of the question are concerned—as compared with his own contributions to the argument.

These were characterised by that superficiality and shallowness which may often be discerned in the utterances of fluent speakers when they deal with involved problems. The facility with which they can find words seems to disincline them for the trouble of searching for ideas. For example, Mr. Reid said: "I have the greatest possible feeling of indulgence for the spirit which animates British Ministers in viewing measures of this sort with disfavor. *If our lot were cast in the mother country, we should feel more at liberty to indulge the larger feelings of philanthropy than we feel here in Australia under the actual conditions of the*

future as they lie before us.* Let us imagine for the moment that in the United Kingdom nearly five per cent. of the population consisted of colored races from Asia—that some 2,000,000 of Asiatics were settled in the United Kingdom. It strikes me that the feeling in the mother country would then become very much more in touch with the feelings which we express in Australia to-day.”

The proposition contained in the foregoing remarks is that philanthropy is a matter of geography—a sentiment which can only be safely indulged under conditions in which its practice threatens no inconvenience. Is Mr. Reid prepared to seriously defend such a proposition? Because, if so—if he regards the virtue of philanthropy as a luxury which can only be afforded in certain latitudes—are there any *other* qualities the display of which in his opinion is equally dependent upon extraneous circumstances? What about consistency? But it would perhaps be cruel to pursue the subject further. Let us go on to the next point.

**En passant* ; What is the meaning of “the actual conditions of the future?”

Mr. Reid draws an imaginary picture of the British Islands with five per cent. of its population consisting of members of colored races—a proportion which he thinks would be sufficient to reduce the philanthropy of British Ministers to the level of that of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. But is it not worth while enquiring why there is not only no such number of colored aliens in Great Britain, but no danger nor fear of such a state of things? Why are the Esquimaux not afraid of a negro invasion? Why is there no necessity for a labor party to advocate a “White Sweden” or a “White Norway”? And why does Greenland not require to prohibit the admission of Hindoos?

Mr. REID continues: “It is not altogether a matter of ‘climate and sunshine.’ We have fully made up our minds that the current of Australian blood shall not assume the darker hues.”

Probably the speaker deemed it necessary to add this qualifying sentence after supplying so strong an illustration of the enormous extent to which this is a question of “climate and sunshine.”

But he need not have gone beyond what had been accepted as sufficient grounds for racial prejudice by the rest of the House. When Mr. Bruce Smith asked what was meant by "White Australia," he was informed (by Mr. O'Malley*) that the term applied to the "*skin color.*" Mr. Reid goes further, however, and objects to the color of the *blood*! The phrase in which he couched this objection was a fine and sonorous one; but for all that it was utter nonsense. The same remark will apply to one of the sentences at the beginning of his peroration, in which he said: "The tiniest rivulet that begins to-day to trickle from Asia to Australia may become a mighty power to-morrow." This is a little exaggerated, even for hyperbole. The process could not possibly be accomplished in less than a week!

But it was in his references to the Japanese that Mr. Reid introduced some of his finest and most characteristic oratorical work. He surpassed even Mr. Bruce Smith in his splendidly satirical exposure of the weak position of the Attorney-General, Mr. Deakin

* P. 5166 "Hansard."

—who had confessed his fear of the Japanese on account of their good qualities—but stopped significantly short of the logical conclusion of his exposure. He complimented the Japanese—when it suited him—and left them out in the consideration of other points, when their inclusion in the argument would have been fatal to its purpose. He made merry at the “awful diffidence” which the Government experienced “in legislating against the influx of Japanese”—ignoring the fact that statistics clearly proved that there was no influx to legislate against. He was almost jocular on the subject of the Mikado, and made a valiant attempt to turn the charge of hysteria (which Mr. Bruce Smith had levelled against the whole proposal) round upon those who advocated the claims of Japan to polite treatment. He spoke of the “hysterical fear which overshadowed the minds of Ministers regarding the sentiments of the Mikado of Japan,” the “permeation of Ministers with a feeling of delicacy for the susceptibilities of the Mikado,” etc.

That this was all addressed to the gallery is evident from its context. For Mr. Reid

spoke of the English test, which was then under discussion, as "an unnecessary insult to the nations of Europe." He described it as "flaunting the whole of Europe in a contemptuous fashion!"

If, then, the proposed English test was an unnecessary insult to the nations of Europe, is not the European test an unnecessary insult to the nations of Asia and Africa? And if the English test would flaunt the whole of Europe in a contemptuous fashion, does not the European test flaunt the whole of Asia and Africa in a contemptuous fashion?

Further, if the European test would be an unnecessary insult and a contemptuous flaunt, how much more necessary an insult, or how much less contemptuous a flaunt would Mr. Watson's amendment, for which Mr. Reid voted, have been, had it been passed?

The only question at issue, according to Mr. Reid, appeared to be one of the manner in which certain people should be insulted and flaunted. The method supported by the Government was, and is, as hypocritical as can be. But if hypocrisy has been properly defined as "the tribute that vice pays to virtue," it is

hard to say which of the two courses that were then before the House was the preferable. Certainly, if one had to choose, individually, between the *acceptance* of a direct unmistakable insult and a thinly disguised one, the choice would not be too easy. And the cheap heroics that were indulged in by Mr. Reid and his party, because the particular brand of insult which *they* proposed to offer to some few hundreds of millions of people was perhaps a shade more offensive than that which was suggested by their political opponents, do not arouse very exhilarating reflections in the minds of those who realise that the destinies of the country—its hopes of reform—are in the keeping of such clay-footed idols.

No attempt was made to show the necessity for insulting anyone. The possibility of consequences arising from such action was never even hinted at. Yet a moment's thought ought to be sufficient to convince anyone that—unless all the natural laws which govern human conduct, collective and individual, are to cease their operation in order to oblige the first parliament of a federation that was conceived in treachery—a parliament that

is becoming notorious as the happy hunting ground for titled apostates and their contemptible followers—there *will* be consequences; whether, when they actually arrive, the fast degenerating political intelligence of the people will be able to recognise them as the effects of their real causes or not.



"The transformation of Japan is a fact patent to the whole world. In a work of such magnitude various motives naturally entered, but, if one were to name the principal, one would not hesitate to name Bushido." ["Bushido" is the Japanese equivalent (or nearly so) of the English word "chivalry."] "When we introduced the latest improvements in every department of life; when we began to study Western politics and sciences, our guiding motive was *not* the development of our physical resources and the increase of wealth; much less was it a blind imitation of Western customs. The sense of honor which cannot bear being looked down upon as an inferior power—*that* was the strongest of motives."

Inazo Nitobe, A. M. Ph. D.

BUSHIDO.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE JAPANESE ATTITUDE UPON THE QUESTION.

While the passage of the Immigration Restriction Act necessarily predicates a complete disregard (on the part of its framers) for the feelings or opinions of the restricted peoples, it may be interesting to others to learn how it is viewed by some of those who are directly affected by it.

From the circumstances of their high state of civilization, and the careful interest which the government of the country takes in all things affecting the welfare of its people in any part of the world, it is easier to ascertain the sentiments of the Japanese upon this matter than those of any other people concerned.

That the Japanese are extremely sensitive upon all subjects which touch their ideas of national honor, is a fact which may be conceded without any derogation from their dignity. The proposal to exclude them from Australia, therefore, was one which they viewed at first with surprise. As a dependency of Great Britain, Australia was not unnaturally regarded as likely to be dominated by similar sentiments to those which had already found expression by Great Britain in friendly and reciprocal treaties between that country and Japan. The immigration legislation that had been passed by several of the colonies from time to time, before the inauguration of the Commonwealth, had formed the subject of respectful remonstrance or protest, with varying degrees of effect. The position always taken by the Japanese was a dignified claim to be recognised as one of the nations of the world, with a clear and indefeasible title to national courtesy and justice. And realising, as their Government did, not only the right of every nation to take whatever steps it might deem necessary to preserve its institutions, but also that local prejudice frequently tinges

popular legislation against aliens with a certain amount of harshness, they were content with any embargo which might be placed upon their people, so long as such embargo applied with equal force to other nations of standing. Thus, the test clauses of the various colonial restrictive bills were always carefully scrutinised, and, where it was thought necessary, respectfully protested against. These tests, as is pretty well known, are called "educational," and consist of a small dictation exercise to the would-be immigrant.

In the Natal Act the test consists of a written and signed application "in the characters of any language of Europe."

The test in the New South Wales Act, passed in 1898, was a written and signed application "in *some European* language in the form as given in the Natal Act, or in a form of similar purport," but the prescribed schedule was in the English language.

In the Bill introduced into South Australia in 1898—which was not carried—the proposed test was the writing out "in characters of the *English* language, a passage of 50 words."

The West Australian Act, passed provided a test of "a passage in *E* words in length."

The Tasmanian Act followed Natal and New South Wales; while the latter land regulated the whole matter, so far as Japan was concerned, by direct treaty with the Japanese Government.

The difference between the "English" test and the "European" test, from the Japanese point of view, lies in the fact that under the "English" test, Japan is placed upon an equal footing with European nations—an immigrant from Japan being subject to no disability which would not also apply to an immigrant from France, Germany, Italy or any other European country. Each would have to qualify himself in a language other than his own, viz., that of the country which he wished to enter.

But the "European" test is obviously a racial discrimination, inasmuch as, thereunder, a Greek could enter Australia without being able to speak and write any language but his own; while a Japanese, who thoroughly under-

stood English as well as Japanese, might be excluded because he could not write Greek.

As has been already shown, the original test clause in the Immigration Restriction Bill, as introduced by the Prime Minister, Mr. Barton, provided for an examination in the English language. Mr. Watson's amendment, proposing to exclude all Asiatics and Africans, having been lost, an amendment was carried, substituting the "European" for the "English" test. After the Bill, as amended, had passed its third reading in the House of Representatives, and before it received the sanction of the Senate, the following interesting account of an interview with the Japanese Consul at Sydney appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" of October 11th, 1901.

INTERVIEW WITH THE JAPANESE CONSUL.

The Immigration Restriction Bill having passed its third reading in the House of Representatives, a representative of the "Daily Telegraph" yesterday called on Mr. H. Eitaki, Consul for Japan, to ascertain his opinion of the measure in the form in which it now stands.

"Do you consider the Bill improved in any way, from your point of view, by the amendments passed in committee?" the Consul was asked.

"On the contrary," replied Mr. Eitaki, "the amendment on Clause 4, by which the educational test was changed from 'the English' to 'an European' language; the application of the same test under circumstances detailed in Clause 9, and the addition of a paragraph to Clause 10, especially exempting immigrants 'of European race or descent' from those prohibited immigrants whose presence on a vessel in contravention of the Act would render ship-masters or owners liable to penalty, are decidedly alterations for the worse from the Japanese point of view.

"During the debate upon the second reading of the Bill in the House of Representatives, and in the discussions in committee, the references made to Japan were very numerous and direct. Indeed, some honorable members went so far as to say that the Bill was specially aimed at the Japanese, whom they considered to be the most dangerous of all immigrants, and who, they thought, should be absolutely excluded. This is rather remarkable when it is remembered that out of the total of the colored aliens now in Australia, less than 5 per cent. are Japanese.

"Of course," continued Mr. Eitaki, "it is not within my province to question the logic of those honorable members who affect to regard the good qualities of the Japanese as reasons for their prohibition. The risk that the Commonwealth may run of contamination by the admission of persons to whom is attributed the possession of dangerous (and possibly contagious) virtues is not too easy of comprehension to an Eastern mind.

"These, however, are matters which might form the subject of an interesting and useful discussion if the attitude

of my Government were one of protest against the exclusion of Japanese from Australia."

"But is that not your attitude?"

"Certainly not. Of course, in saying this, I do not wish it to be inferred that my Government would not regret exceedingly, both on sentimental and commercial grounds, any disruption of the amicable relations now subsisting between Australia and Japan. But, whatever opinions my Government might hold as to the wisdom of legislation admittedly passed for the purpose of excluding Japanese from Australia, however weak they might consider the motives, real or ostensible, which could prompt the Commonwealth Legislature to pass such an Act, no matter how clearly they might foresee consequences, un contemplated by its advocates, following upon its passage, the matter might have been treated with comparative indifference, or borne with equanimity, if some of the principal clauses of the Act were not couched in terms which make discriminations on the grounds of race and color. Such discrimination we hold to be in direct opposition to the spirit of international law, and besides being calculated to wound the feelings of a friendly nation, it is altogether unnecessary for the carrying out of the object in view.

"It is upon these considerations that I have addressed communications from time to time to the Prime Minister, for the purpose of inducing him to accord to Japan similar treatment, in the Immigration Restriction Bill, to that shown to European nations. I have pointed out that Japan is entitled to equal rights and privileges with Western civilized nations, in all matters regulated by international law, and is recognised clearly as being upon an equal

footing with them. This is certainly not the case with any of the other peoples with whom the Bill proposes to include the Japanese in the tests prescribed to secure admission to this country, and in other matters connected with the administration of the Act. I have also shown that my Government is prepared to meet the wishes of the Commonwealth Government in the matter of any further regulation or control of Japanese immigration that may be desired."

"Do you think that any other Asiatic or African Government is in a position to make a similar proposal?"

"I cannot speak for any other Government, but the fact should be easily ascertainable upon inquiry from your Foreign Minister. But I may mention that the Japanese Government has control over its people under its emigration law and passport regulations, which would make it very easy for them to enter into and carry out any such arrangement as I have referred to.

"This, I am sure, would be an equally effective and much more courteous method than that which the Bill proposes, and I cannot imagine what objection the most rabid advocate of a 'White Australia' can have to its adoption.

"The Commonwealth cannot possibly benefit in any way by offending the susceptibilities of the Japanese, and I find it hard to think that those who have the best interests of your country at heart would wish to do so. . . .

"I can only hope," continued the Consul, "that the representations I have made, and which I am now making, may receive the careful attention of honorable members of the Senate, and that the Senate will recommend to the Lower House the advisableness either of exempting the altogether from the operation of the Act (leaving

be dealt with separately, in the manner I have suggested), or of placing them upon the same footing with Europeans.

"That is to say, if a Frenchman, or a Russian, or a Turk, or a Greek may be examined in his own language, there is no reason why a Japanese should not be allowed the same privilege.

"It appears to me that this is one of the opportunities which occasionally offer for demonstrating the advantages of a bi-cameral system of Government. In the calmer atmosphere of the Senate there may possibly be a better prospect of some of the weighty issues involved in this matter receiving due consideration than in the stormier region of the House of Representatives.

"It is perhaps too much to expect that the racial discrimination made in the Bill can now be altered; but it may occur to the Senate that these discriminations do not accord to Japan that courteous recognition of her place among the nations to which she is on all grounds entitled."

Comment upon this interview is well-nigh superfluous. It may be described, in the language of an "Edinburgh Review" of nearly one hundred years ago (1808) as having practically "silenced the arguments of opponents; and, teaching sense to some, and inspiring others with shame, to have left those only in the field who can neither learn nor blush."

But there has been so much iteration and reiteration of the contention that the exclusion of the Japanese from Australia is necessary,

that it may not be out of place to recapitulate some facts, and state others, to show the hollowness and absurdity of such a contention.

Japan is *not* an overcrowded country, seeking eagerly for outlets for its surplus millions of population. It is a progressive country, whose inhabitants are anxious to learn all that can be learnt from nations beyond the seas, and whose desire is to "prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good."

From a condition of semi-barbarism, in which loyalty to the Throne (a distinguishing characteristic of its people throughout all its history) was associated with a strong hatred of aliens, — as expressed in the once popular maxim "*Sonno Joi*"*—it has developed, perhaps too swiftly, to a condition of civilized eclecticism which is prone to imagine virtues in Western methods where they do not exist.

The feeling which an educated Japanese has with regard to the action of the Australian Commonwealth is not so much one of disappointment at being shut out of the country, nor of indignation at the gratuitous and ignorant affront which has been offered to his

* "*Revere the Sovereign and expel the foreigner.*"

nation, as it is of melancholy pity to find that his opinion of the large-mindedness and justice of the Australian people has received such a rude shock.

When Dr. Inazo Nitobé (Director of Agriculture at Formosa, and a most distinguished scholar and author) was in Australia,* he commented, naively (to a newspaper interviewer) on the singular circumstance that Australia should be taking so pronounced a legislative step backward into the darkness of prejudices from which Japan was congratulating herself upon having emerged.

And there are many of Dr. Nitobé's countrymen who are sufficiently philosophical to recognise a possible element of benefit which may accrue to Japan as a result of the slight reaction in the feelings of the people which this restrictive legislation has caused. For, among other things, it may check the eagerness of so-called reformers in Japan to adopt too readily some of the forms of Western Government which are wrongly termed "democratic," and which are now upon their trial in Australia.

*In March, 1902.

"I cannot marry you, my pretty maid."

"Nobody axed you, sir," she said.

Dr. Watts—or somebody.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RISK OF CONTAMINATION BY RACIAL INTERMARRIAGES.

Some short time ago a rather interesting conversation took place in Sydney, between a commercial man and a prominent member of the labor party, upon the question of the risk of racial contamination to which a white community is exposed by the presence of colored people.

After having been driven, by argument and illustration, from the position that the white races possess a monopoly of all the virtues, and the colored races of all the vices, and after also having been compelled to admit that his objection to their color would still remain, even if all colored people were, by a miracle, to attain to his own ideal standard of character, the labor man said :

"Well, now, I'll make the matter a personal one. How would you like your sister or your daughter to marry a negro, a Chinese, or a Japanese?"

The commercial man laughed, and said, "I understand that that question is regarded by your party as rather a poser, is it not?"

"Well, it seems to me to pretty well sum up the whole situation," said the labor man, "and, at any rate, I should like to hear you answer it."

"But are you aware," said the other, "that, in saying that this sums up the whole situation, you are admitting defeat upon the grounds of logic, principle, justice, humanity and common sense, and are making your last appeal to the narrowest and basest prejudices that a human being can entertain?"

"I don't know anything about that," said the labor man, doggedly, "and I'm free to confess that I don't care. All I know is, that I shouldn't like any of *my* female relations to marry a colored man, and therefore I wouldn't let a colored man come into the country. You haven't yet told me how you would like a nigger for a brother-in-law, or a son-in-law."

"I am quite ready to tell you that, as soon as we can come to an agreement as to its bearing upon the question. An admitted appeal to prejudice requires a complete answer, or none at all."

"You may answer it any way you like, so long as you do answer it," was the reply.

"Very well, then," said the commercial man. "You recognise, of course, that your question involves the proposition that I should agitate for the exclusion from the country of *all* individuals whom I might object to have as connections of my family by marriage."

The labor man hesitated a little, and then said, "No, I don't see that it does."

"Would you mind telling me, then," said the other, "what my personal feelings on the subject of my daughter's marriage have to do with the matter? In other words, do you think that I should advocate the exclusion of the negro *solely* on account of my objection to a family alliance with him?"

"Well, that's how I feel about it, any way," said the labor man.

"Then should not my objection to an alliance with other descriptions of men lead me to advocate their exclusion also? That is to say, supposing I should have an objection to a Frenchman, a German, a Greek, a Russian, an Italian or a Spaniard as a son-in-law; or supposing I objected to a Roman Catholic or a Jew, or a Wesleyan, or a Presbyterian for a brother-in-law; supposing I objected to a protectionist or a member of the labor party;—supposing I objected to everybody but a free-trader of the particular Baptist persuasion; should I advocate the exclusion of all other people on that account?"

"But you must admit," said the labor man, "that the question of color is upon a different footing altogether from the other considerations you have mentioned?"

"Certainly not," said the commercial man, "the question under discussion is whether the fact of a man's skin color, for which he is no more responsible than you are for the color of your hair, should be regarded—irrespective of any other consideration—as sufficient to place him under a ban, and cause him, on that account alone, to be classed, by the legislat

of a civilized country, with lunatics, criminals, and lepers. You absolutely fail to show me any reason why it should, and can only appeal to a prejudice which I do not share."

"Then you admit that you wouldn't mind seeing your daughter married to a Chinaman?" said the labor man, triumphantly.

"I beg your pardon," said the other. "I admit nothing of the kind. But even if I did, it would have no more to do with the wisdom or justice of your party's attitude on the alien restriction question, than would my objection to a boot-black or a 'bus conductor for a son-in-law. As a matter of fact, my daughter or daughters may, and probably will, marry whomever they choose. The prospect of their marrying either Negroes, Chinese, or Japanese, is very remote, by the way; but as you seem to think the bare suggestion of it constitutes so strong an argument, I shall pass over its impertinence and tell you what I think about it."

"You don't seem in too great a hurry to do so," said the labor man, with a rather palpably affected yawn.

"I regard it as a great mistake to deal with prejudices hurriedly," said the other,

calmly, "and especially when they are admitted prejudices. I never heard of a bigot yet who was converted by an epigram. Argument is usually supposed to be at an end when prejudice is admitted."

"The point is that I have the prejudice, and admit it," said the labor man, "and I think you have it, too, though you don't seem to care to admit it. The remoteness of the prospect of your daughter marrying a nigger, a Chinaman, or a Jap. wouldn't alter your feeling if such a thing did happen."

"You are taking great pains to misunderstand me," replied the other, "I want you first of all to see that, even supposing I did hold the prejudice of which you speak, and were unashamed enough to admit it and boast of it, it would have no bearing upon the question at all. When we can agree upon that part of the matter, I am prepared to go on to the next point—and not before. If you have the right to exclude a negro from the country, no matter how good a man he might be—and I suppose you will admit that there may be good negroes?"—

"Suppose I don't admit it?—just by way of argument," said the labor man.

"Then you have no need to place their undesirableness on the ground of their color at all," was the reply; "why not urge their *badness* as the necessity for their exclusion?"

"Well, I suppose I shall have to admit that there are good negroes, but I don't want them here."

"For fear one of them should marry your daughter?" enquired the other.

"Yes," said the labor man.

"Would you be content for your daughter to marry *anybody* whom you would allow to come to the country? Have you no standard of character, ability, physical health or personal habits in your mind which you would desire your prospective white son-in-law to reach; or may *any* rascal marry your daughter, so long as he is what you call white?"

"Come, I say," said the labor man, "You're putting it rather strong, aren't you?"

"I don't think so," said the other. "You are practically proposing your ideas, on the subject of your daughter's marriage, in one particular respect, as a test clause for the

admission of people into this country. Not *your daughter's* ideas, mind you. The supposition is that your daughter might *want* to marry some one who would be repugnant to *you*. And you yourself have already said (in reference to a remark of mine) that to mention the remoteness of such a contingency is irrelevant. What I want to know is, are you *only* concerned about the color of your daughter's husband, and utterly indifferent to every other consideration ? ”

“ Of course I am not,” said the labor man.

“ Then it is possible that there might be grounds of objection in the character or person of an Englishman or a Frenchman (he might be undersized, or diseased, or cruel, or an irreclaimable drunkard, or half an idiot, or flagrantly dishonorable), which would weigh pretty heavily in the scale, so far as you are concerned, against the nationality of,—say, a sound, healthy, moral, intelligent, kindly and wealthy Chinese merchant, as a candidate for your daughter's hand ? ”

“ Oh, look here, now,” said the labor man, “ you're not going to take the best of one lot,

and put them against the worst of the other lot; that isn't fair."

"I beg your pardon," was the reply, "but it is absolutely fair. "You propose—in fact, through the instrumentality of your party it has already been enacted in the laws of the Commonwealth,—that the best of one lot *shall* be kept out, while the worst of the other lot may come in. And you attempt to justify this action by the danger your family runs of being contaminated through your daughter not having sufficient good sense to enable her to choose a proper husband. I merely say that this solicitude on your daughter's behalf, in one respect—that of her husband's color—is singularly inconsistent with your indifference to his every other attribute."

"You have succeeded very cleverly in changing the case I put to you as an illustration, and have discussed *my* daughter instead of your own," said the labor man.

"I don't see that you can take exception to that, under the circumstances," said the commercial man.

"Why not?"

“Because it is *you* who want legislation for *your* daughter; not *I* for *mine*. I point out to you many other considerations on account of which other people would have an equal or a greater right to propose the exclusion of numerous other descriptions of individuals. The admission of the right in the one case carries with it, not only the right, but the *obligation*, to adopt the same course in the other cases. If you or I claim the right to exclude colored people, solely on account of their color, for our daughters’ sakes, and succeed in doing so, simply because of the acquiescence of a majority of voters in our proposal, what answer would we have to give to any prejudiced majority who might propose some Test Act, religious or economic, which would exclude us? None whatever.”

“There may be something in that,” the labor man admitted, reluctantly.

“There is everything in that,” said the other. “Racial prejudice is no more to be excused than national prejudice, or religious prejudice, or class prejudice. If one prejudice may find expression in our Statute Book, another may, and surely will. It is simply

opening the way for a saturnalia of degrading sectional legislation, leading back to the tyranny and ignorance that prevailed in past ages and disgraced our history. It would be far better for you and me to let our daughters run the *remote risk* of becoming enamored of men with dark skins, than to assist in bringing about a condition of affairs in this country which would be fraught with *certain* danger to them or their children."

"That reminds me," said the labor man, "that you have not yet told me what your feelings would be if your daughter married a colored man."

"I am ready to tell you," said the other, "if you are prepared to admit that the rights or wrongs of the case remain uninfluenced by my opinion on the subject of my daughter's marriage."

"I am hardly prepared to admit that, yet," said the labor man, "but I am willing to confess that you have put the matter in several new lights to me, and that your answer to my question, however you may answer it, will have *less* bearing upon the case than I previously thought it would have. Will that do?"

"I suppose it would be greedy to expect more," replied the other. "So it will have to do. But your question was threefold. You asked me how I should like my daughter to marry a negro, a Chinese, or a Japanese?"

"Yes, that was it."

"You did not mean, of course, *any* negro, *any* Chinese, or *any* Japanese, did you?"

"Of course not."

"Then what sort of negro, Chinese, or Japanese *did* you mean?"

"Oh, whatever sort you like."

"Perhaps I had better first describe the sort of man I should like my daughter to marry, and then deal with him as an European, a negro, a Chinese and a Japanese. Will that meet the case?"

"Yes, I suppose that is really what I do mean."

"Well then, I should like my daughter's husband to be her intellectual and social equal, or superior. I should like him to be a man whose tastes and aspirations were similar to her's; whose ideas upon religion and conduct would not clash with her own. It is because that description of man is more likely to be

found amongst her own countrymen and her own race, amongst those who have been brought up in the same atmosphere, that I should prefer her to choose a Britisher or a white man. I should prefer an Australian to an Englishman; I think I should prefer an Englishman to an American. And if I may state this preference without any reflection either upon Great Britain or the United States, may I not prefer an European to a negro without any reflection upon the negro? But, thanks to the American prejudice, which we have imported, duty free, the negro is not regarded as the *social equal* of the white man. My daughter, therefore, could not marry a negro, no matter how good a man he might be, without suffering a loss of social status which any father would wish to spare his child. The fact that I have no sympathy whatever with the feelings which prompt them would not make the many insults and discourtesies to which my daughter would be subject, as the wife of a negro, any less hard for her to bear. Therefore, if I found that she contemplated such a step, I should point out all these things to her, and endeavour to dissuade her from taking it. If,

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however, her affection and respect for the man were so great as to impel her to persist, then—provided he were otherwise eligible—I should have to yield. But I should do so with regret—not because the man was black, but because the white society in which my daughter might have to move would be so savagely ignorant and cruel. Is that a fair and comprehensible attitude to take, so far as the negro is concerned ? ”

“ It seems all right,” assented the labor man ; “ I should probably feel more strongly on the matter myself ”—

“ And act more foolishly ? ” suggested the other.

“ Very likely,” was the reply ; “ but what about a Chinese ? ”

“ If a Chinese came up to the standard I have mentioned, I think I should prefer him to a negro. But the Chinese character appears to be so stagnant and unprogressive, as the result of ages of isolation and self-containment, that the likelihood of encountering one who would meet with my approval is as small as the probability that, should such an one be found, he would wish to marry your daughter or mine. Still, I cannot help thinking that the social

status of an educated and wealthy Chinese in an European country is higher than that of a similarly qualified negro. This arises from the fact that the Chinese have never been enslaved by Europeans. The prejudice against slavery is very similar in one respect to the conventional prejudice against mothers-in-law. It is cherished chiefly by those whose action has created the condition complained of. A man marries a woman, and, straightway, without being able to help it, another woman by that act becomes a mother-in-law. Mothers-in-law have been the jest and butt of husbanddom from time immemorial, and have had to put up with all sorts of contumely and ridicule from the very men who have made them what they are. In much the same way, some men make slaves of other men, against their will, and then look down upon them for being slaves. But the taint of slavery descends from generation to generation, even after the condition of slavery has ceased. To it are added social and class prejudices, fostered by economic ignorance, which appear to intensify the sentiment as time goes on. Yes, I think I should prefer a Chinese to a negro for a son-in-law."

"You certainly have a most original way of looking at things," said the labor man, "but I am bound to admit that there is much force in what you say. Now, what about the Japanese?"

"Well," said the other, "the Japanese are a nation whose progress and development during the last half-century should teach every thinking Caucasian a valuable lesson on the folly of racial conceit. To class them, indiscriminately, with the other peoples whom the Australian Immigration Restriction Act describes as 'undesirables' was a proceeding for which ignorance might be pleaded as an excuse, but certainly not as a justification. The Japanese are, nationally and socially, our equals; and, if my daughter chose to form a matrimonial alliance with a Japanese gentleman, she would certainly not lose status by so doing, and could well afford to treat with contempt the opinion of any one ill informed enough to imagine the contrary."

"Then you make an exception in favor of the Japanese?" asked the labor man.

"Hardly that so much," said the other. "I think it would be nearer the mark to say

that they have made themselves an exception. But the Japanese are just as proud and exclusive as we are, and you would not find an eligible Japanese too ready to enter into a matrimonial alliance with you, even if you wished it. They prefer their own race, as we do, and would subscribe as readily as ourselves to the sentiment contained in the song which says—

The hawk unto the open sky,
The red deer to the wold,
The Romany lass for the Romany lad,
As in the days of old.

But, apart from all this, I think that if our daughters, and their mothers and female friends, can't settle the marriage question among them, it would be rather a tough contract for us fathers to take on—especially by legislative means. What do you think?"

"I am beginning to fancy you are right," said the labor man."

“ A man’s a man for a’ that.”

Burns.

“ Cauliflower is only cabbage with a college education.”

Pudd’nhead Wilson.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DOCTRINE OF RACIAL EQUALITY.

A celebrated author has remarked that the British nation is composed of individuals in every conceivable condition of civilization. There are Englishmen to-day living in a state of barbarism and ignorance which would disgrace the meanest savage of Polynesia. And there are Englishmen to-day whose abilities, morals and courage are probably upon as high a level as the world has ever seen.

To a greater or less extent, this, of course, is true of every civilized nation. If, therefore, it were desired to discover a standard of character which could be correctly described as representative of a nation composed of millions of so widely differing units, what would be the proper course to adopt? Obviously, it would

not be fair to take the best specimens, and credit the whole nation with the virtues they possess; nor would it be fair to go to the other extreme. Neither would it be possible to imagine an individual who could be taken as a type of the nation by reason of possessing all these differing attributes in his own character. He could not be both honest, and a thief; chaste and impure; courageous and cowardly; broad-minded and bigoted; healthy and diseased. But, supposing an *average* of all these conflicting characteristics could be arrived at, and a man could be constructed upon this average principle, could such a composite, contradictory character be accepted as a true type of any nation?

The more one thinks upon the question, the greater the difficulty of typifying national character becomes, and the nearer one approaches to the conclusion that character is a purely individual and personal attribute, and only national in so far as the legislation of any particular country may tend to foster or discourage any particular individual proclivities.

For instance, when the Spanish Inquisition was in full swing, with all its horrors and

barbarities, the fact of its existence, as a recognized institution of the country, justified the application of the epithet "cruel" in any description of Spanish character. And when English laws provided for the roasting of heretics and witches, and the torturing and mutilation of minor offenders, the effect of these laws must have been to embrate and degrade large numbers of the people; as it would not have been possible to put such Acts into operation without the assistance of informers and witnesses, who had the gratification of their most devilish impulses sanctioned and encouraged by the sacred fetish of the law.

The inauguration of a more humane era in every country has been due to the heroism and self sacrifice of individuals, in whose blood the history of the successful struggle has been written. But their heroism was no more a national attribute than was the hideous cruelty against which it contended. It was just as English to burn Joan of Arc as it was to free the slaves in the West Indies, or to pass the Toleration Act.

When, therefore, a man says, "I am an Englishman, and am proud of it!" what does

the boast mean? To begin with, the site of one's birth being a matter entirely beyond one's own control, it is hardly a thing that a man can take credit for. So that, unless he be imbued with the patriotic desire to lend point to the witticism of Great Britain's champion satirist, and affirm that

In spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations,
He remains an Englishman,

it is not easy to discern the purpose of the boast at all.

Yet there is a sense in which a man may cherish a sentiment of pardonable gratification at belonging to a certain nation—but the sentiment should partake more of the nature of thankfulness than of pride. For a due appreciation of privileges enjoyed will be accompanied by the knowledge that there are places where these privileges do not exist. And further, that there was a time, not very remote, when they did not exist even where they do now.

Consequently, for a man to boast of the land of his birth *because* of the liberty he enjoys therein, is, inferentially, to institute a

disparaging comparison between that land and others not so happily circumstanced.

It is equivalent to the action of a sick man who has been restored to health mocking at those of his hospital companions who have not yet recovered. Exactly equivalent. For the laws of hygiene will operate in the same manner in the cases of his companions as in his own case, if, by wise action, they are given the opportunity. And, though the laws of political economy may be sneered at by the practical politician, because of their proven uselessness at election times; though they may be derided by the dilettante newspaper paragraphist, who has neither the time nor the inclination (if the ability) to appeal to the reasoning faculties of his readers when it is so much easier and cheaper to appeal to their passions and prejudices—these laws are natural laws, and are as impartial as Nature itself. The sun shines, and the rain falls alike upon the just and the unjust; upon the black man and the white man; “God is no respecter of persons”; if an Englishman puts his hand into the fire, the effect upon him will be the same as if he were a Hottentot; if British or

American or Australian statesmen, rightly or wrongly interpreting the spirit of the nation, legislate in defiance of the laws of righteousness (or the laws of God, or of Nature—phrase it as you will) there is no power in the universe that can avert the consequences; while if Chinese, or German, or Japanese, or French, or Russian statesmen should enact laws founded upon sound economic principles (or, what would amount to the same thing, were to set about the abolition of existing laws which violate those principles) the same results would accrue as if the same course were followed by any other nation.

The only really sound foundation upon which the sentiment of thankfulness for being an unit of any particular nation can be based is the conduct of its national—that is, its political—affairs. If the legislation of a nation is such as to permit conditions to exist wherein individual units of the community have opportunities for the gratification of natural and wholesome aspirations, then the person who, upon waking to consciousness, finds that, in his own country, he has better opportunities for the enjoyment of a happy

or a decent life than he would have had if he had been born elsewhere, may congratulate himself—with all becoming modesty—upon the fortunate circumstances of his national environment.

Nor, if he rightly estimates the privileges he enjoys, will he shirk the obligation which citizenship imposes upon him, of jealously guarding those privileges from invasion. An intelligent study of the history of his own country will help him to a comprehension of the struggles which have taken place to obtain them for him; and the histories of other countries, throughout all time, will teach him how liable the mightiest nations are to disasters which it would have been regarded as traitorous to predict, right up to the very moment of their occurrence. He will see that, in every instance—without exception—where nations, formerly great and powerful, have declined, the way has been prepared for the conquering invader by *internal* corruption arising from a grossly unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, which has differentiated people of the same nation into classes and castes with antagonisms, prejudices, and

hatreds born of that very inequality, but which are as fierce and deadly in their nature as though they were cherished by inhabitants of different nations at war with one another.

This may lead him to enquire whether the liberties he himself enjoys, and for which he may feel personally thankful, are shared by the rest of his own countrymen; or whether he is but one of a favored few, playing a more or less involuntary part in the enslavement and degradation of his fellows.

When once this stage is reached, the sense of individual responsibility is aroused. Frequently it becomes overpowering, and many persons, growing bewildered by the magnitude and complexity of the problems which press upon their minds for investigation and solution, hand their political consciences into the keeping of the leaders of their political parties; draw their political inspiration from articles in the party newspapers; echo all the party catch-cries, and dance obediently and decorously to the party piping.

There are others, however, to whom both the folly and the danger of this course are apparent; and who therefore proceed still

further with the enquiry. They realise that the responsibility of choosing some one to think for them is no less than that of thinking for themselves. That, in fact, to make a sensible choice of some one upon whom to impose the task of deciding for them on questions of importance, requires as much knowledge of those questions as would enable the decision to be arrived at by themselves.

To such as these the truth eventually becomes apparent that natural law is universal, and operates without partiality or caprice throughout the whole creation. And the question arises: Is human society a natural growth? Is it in obedience to the laws of Nature that men associate together and form communities, or societies, or tribes, or nations? Or is isolation the natural condition of human life, from which mankind has ignorantly but terribly strayed?

This is an important matter; because, if human society is a natural growth, it must be subject to the laws of Nature; and further, as has already been indicated, all human societies, or nations, must be *equally* subject to those laws. For Nature has no "chosen

race," no "peculiar people." The earth yields her increase to human exertion irrespective of creed or color.

A celebrated—though not yet sufficiently appreciated—American philosopher, writing upon this subject, says:—

The differences between communities in different stages of civilization cannot be ascribed to innate differences in the individuals who compose those communities.

That there are natural differences is true, and that there is such a thing as hereditary transmission of peculiarities is undoubtedly true, but the great differences between men in different states of society cannot be explained in this way. The influence of heredity, which it is now the fashion to rate so highly, is as nothing compared with the influences which mould the man after he comes into the world. What is more ingrained in habit than language, which becomes not merely an automatic trick of the muscles, but the medium of thought? What persists longer, or will more quickly show nationality? Yet we are not born with a predisposition to any language. Our mother tongue is only our mother tongue because we learned it in infancy. Although his ancestors have thought and spoken in one language for countless generations, a child will learn any other language with equal facility, if he hears nothing else from the first. And so of other national, or local, or class prejudices. They seem to be matters of education and habit, not of transmission. Cases of white children captured by Indians in infancy and brought up in the wigwam show this. They become thorough Indians.

That this is not so true of the children of Indians or other distinctly marked races brought up by white people is, I think, due to the fact that they are never treated precisely as white children. A gentleman who taught a colored school once told me that he thought the colored children, up to the age of ten or twelve, were really brighter and learned more readily than white children; but that after that age they seemed to get dull and careless. He thought this was proof of innate race inferiority, and so did I at the time. But I afterwards heard a highly intelligent negro gentleman (Bishop Hillery) incidentally make a remark which to my mind seems a sufficient explanation. He said, "Our children, when they are young, are fully as bright as white children, and learn as readily. But as soon as they get old enough to appreciate their status—to realise that they are looked upon as belonging to an inferior race, and can never hope to be anything more than cooks, waiters, or something of that sort, they lose their ambition and cease to keep up!"

And to this he might have added that, being the children of poor, uncultivated and unambitious parents, home influences told against them. For I believe it is a matter of common observation that, in the primary part of education, the children of ignorant parents are quite as receptive as the children of intelligent parents; but by and by the latter, as a general rule, pull ahead and make the more intelligent men and women. The reason is plain. As to the first simple things which they learn only at school, they are on a par; but, as their studies become more complex, the child who at home is accustomed to good English, hears intelligent conversation, has access to books, can get questions answered, etc., has an advantage which tells.

The same thing can be seen later in life. Take a man who has raised himself from the ranks of common labor, and, just as he is brought into contact with men of culture, and men of affairs, will he become more intelligent and polished. Take two brothers, the sons of poor parents, brought up in the same house and in the same way. One is put to a rude trade, and never gets beyond the necessity of making a living by hard daily labor; the other, commencing as an errand boy, gets a start in another direction, and becomes finally a successful lawyer, merchant, or politician. At forty or fifty the contrast between them will be striking, and the unreflecting will credit it to the greater natural ability which has enabled the one to push himself ahead.

But just as striking a difference in manners and intelligence will be manifest between two sisters, one of whom, married to a man who has remained poor, has her life fretted with petty cares and devoid of opportunities, and the other of whom has married a man whose subsequent position brings her into cultured society and opens to her opportunities which refine taste and expand intelligence.

And so deteriorations may be seen. "Evil communications corrupt good manners" is but an expression of the general law that human character is profoundly modified by its conditions and surroundings

Take a number of infants born of the most highly civilized parents, and transport them to an uninhabited country. Suppose them in some miraculous way to be sustained until they come of age to take care of themselves, and what would you have? More helpless savages than any we know of. They would have fire to discover; the

rudest tools and weapons to invent; language to construct. They would, in short, have to stumble their way to the simplest knowledge which the lowest races now possess, just as a child learns to walk. That they would, in time, do all these things I have not the slightest doubt; for all these possibilities are latent in the human mind, just as the power of walking is latent in the human frame; but I do not believe they would do them any better or worse, more slowly or more quickly, than the children of barbarian parents placed in the same condition. Given the very highest mental powers that exceptional individuals have ever displayed, and what could mankind do if one generation were separated from the next by an interval of time, as are the seventeen year locusts? One such interval of time would reduce mankind, not to savagery, but to a condition compared with which savagery, as we know it, would seem civilization.

And, reversely, suppose a number of savage infants could, unknown to the mothers (for even this would be necessary to make the experiment a fair one), be substituted for as many children of civilization, can we suppose that, growing up, they would show any difference? I think no one who has mixed much with different peoples and classes will think so. The great lesson that is thus learned is that "human nature is human nature all the world over."

Unless the foregoing arguments can be controverted (and there should be fame in store for the logician who can controvert them) it can be seen that the characteristics of certain peoples, which are popularly ascribed

to "racial inferiority" are nothing but the results of environment which would produce exactly similar results upon any other peoples. That is to say, the white Australians who regard themselves as infinitely superior to the Chinese, and on that account bestow abusive epithets upon them and propose their total exclusion from Australia, are exerting all their individual force to bring the standard of Australian civilization down to that of China, by adopting legislative methods, and encouraging a national sentiment which are peculiarly Chinese. The Chinese character has been formed by the protective policy of the country, which naturally and logically has developed a suspicion and hatred of foreigners of all kinds.

The Chinese expression of this sentiment is almost as polite as that of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. The Australians call the Chinese "undesirable aliens." The Chinese have a stronger term for the strangers within their gates. They call them "barbarians" and "foreign devils."

The difference between the two forms of expression, however, is only one of degree. No doubt when the Australian nation shall have

proceeded for a few centuries on its career of protection, restriction, exclusion and socialism, it will have approached more closely the Chinese goal towards which it seems to be aiming. And by this time, perhaps, it may have discovered a term to apply to a little more than one-half of the world's inhabitants, which will better express its sublime contempt for the Creator's blunder in allowing colored people to exist at all.

The Chinese policy, however, has had a fair trial of a few thousand years, and has succeeded in evolving a national character which is at once weak and grotesque. The "teeming millions of China" had not enough grit to withstand the onslaught of a handful of Western soldiers and sailors in 1840 and 1860. Nor could they hold their own against their brave and progressive neighbors, the Japanese, in 1894-5. This very type of a protectionist and alien-excluding nation has, in fact—as the result of its narrow and absurd policy—become a carcass around which the eagles of Western "diplomacy" have gathered with a view to its dismemberment as soon as a basis for the division of the plunder can be arrived at.

Yet the Chinese who settle in European countries "acquire European modes of working, trading, the use of machinery, etc., with such facility as to prove that they have no lack of flexibility or natural capacity. That they do not change in other respects is due to the Chinese environment which still persists and still surrounds them. Coming from China, they look forward to return to China, and live, while away from their own country, in a little China of their own, just as Englishmen in India maintain a little England. It is not merely that we naturally seek association with those who share our peculiarities, . . . but that these differences provoke an external pressure which compels such association."

Does this not go to show that what Australia wants is not so much the exclusion of the Chinese, as the exclusion of the policy which is responsible for all the undesirable elements in the Chinese character?

In the individual Chinese character (which has the opportunity to display itself abroad, as distinguished from the national character, which is expressed by the legislation and customs of the country) may be discerned

many traits worthy of the highest respect and admiration. The Chinese immigrant is, generally speaking, a peaceable, law-abiding and industrious person, and no more given to

. . . ways that are dark

And tricks that are vain

than is an average European, American, or Australian. Bret Harte summed up the whole situation in his clever rhyme; for it was not until Bill Nye, whose sleeve was

. . . chock full of aces and bowers,

And the same with intent to deceive,

had discovered that Ah Sin knew as much as he did, that he raised the political labor cry and

“went for” that heathen Chinese!

While Ah Sin could be cheated with impunity, the risk of contamination by association with him counted for nothing; and the rate of wages he might choose to accept was a matter of indifference to the Yankee card-sharper. But, so soon as it became apparent that the “small game” was proceeding upon unexpectedly equal terms, the American became suddenly alive to the economic danger of his opponent’s presence as a competitor in the labor market, and with a fine affectation of

patriotic spirit, committed a cowardly personal assault upon him.

Yet such a destructive effect does the doctrine of "protection" produce upon the sense of humor, that the whole of the United States has been laughing at Truthful James' recital ever since it was written, without once appearing to see the implied national reproach which the satire contains.

Then take any other race—the African negro, for example; or the Polynesian; or even the Australian aboriginal. The last named has frequently been referred to as among the lowest in point of intelligence of all the races in the world. But the most recent reports of explorers, and of Bishops connected with missionary work, are correcting the prevalent impression, and tend to show that the Australian aboriginal is capable of a degree of civilization which in former years would have been considered impossible. His inferiority is—so to speak—chronological, not racial. He can no more truly be said to be inferior, racially, to an European, than a child can be said to be inferior, racially, to his father. The infant son of an educated

Englishman, of course, does not know as much as his father knows; but, not only may be credited with the latent ability to acquire as much useful information, in the course of time, as his father now possesses, but it is almost a certainty that, by the time he reaches maturity, he will know *more* than his father knew at the same age.

And it is the same with nations, and with races, as with individuals. It is true that different nations are in different stages of civilization. Some nations may even be so low down in the scale to-day as to make it seem impossible that they could ever reach the standard of higher civilizations; but every day experience of the advances made by individual members of such nations, when they escape from their national environment, shows that the assumption of their *natural* inferiority is unphilosophic and unwarrantable. The descendants of the most civilized and refined man now living may, a few generations hence, be barbarous savages; and the descendants of some now living savage may by that time have attained to the highest conceivable degree of civilization and refinement. If not, why not?

"No two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time."

Elementary Physics.

"Why can't the second body get another space?"

Gizen-no-Teki.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON WAGES.

National conduct is subject to the same laws as individual conduct. The analogy between a nation and an individual in this respect is nearly perfect. Nature, in both cases, is inexorable. The inconvenience and pain which follow the violation of the laws of health by an individual; the diseases and plagues to which the human body is subject, all have their counterpart in the constitution of civilized society. Just as disease in a man is a sign that the laws of health have been broken (either by himself or someone else) so are social disorders a complete proof that the legislation or government of the society in which they appear has been proceeding upon wrong lines.

But while individual physical disorders are recognized as requiring diagnosis by the aid of medical science in order to avoid the evils which must surely follow wrong treatment, the parallel does not appear to be admitted with regard to social disorders. In the domain of social science, the "practical politician" occupies a corresponding position with that of Dr. Curemquick—the quack—in the realm of medical science.

What social or national disorder was the quackery of a "White Australia" policy intended to remedy? There can be no doubt that the strength of the movement lay in the fact that it proposed to restrict the entry into the Commonwealth of competitors in the labor market, whose presence would have the effect of reducing wages. The reason why this consideration was kept in the background by the labor party during the discussion in the Commonwealth Parliament has already been shown, viz., the wish to obtain the support of the free-traders, on racial grounds, to a matter which they would have been bound to oppose on economic grounds. But the fiscal issue really dominated the whole of the debate—in +'

manner: The protectionists raised the colored bogey in order to get the labor party's support to the tariff; and the freetraders raised the bogey higher, and painted it blacker, in the hope of *blocking* the tariff. They did evil in the hope that good might come of it—always a dangerous thing to do, but especially so in political matters.

The disorder, to palliate which the labor party proposed the exclusion of aliens, was the downward tendency of wages—the great labor problem—the disease of poverty.

Now, the downward tendency of wages must be admitted, and it must be admitted also that it is a great social disorder—in fact, *the* great social disorder. Nor can it be denied that, under conditions as they exist, the presence of more competitors in the labor market *would* intensify that downward tendency.

“But,” one can fancy a labor party man exclaiming, “are not these admissions of themselves sufficient to justify the exclusion of aliens? If their exclusion would prevent an acceleration of the downward tendency of wages, must it not be a good thing to advocate and support? Surely, if we cannot absolutely

remedy an evil, we should do what we can to prevent its increase! Is it not better to do something than to do nothing?"

This is, perhaps, the most specious argument that could be adduced in favor of the restriction of aliens. But what does it amount to?

Let us see.

The proposition that it is better to do something than to do nothing, may be answered by the counter proposition that it is better to do nothing than the wrong thing. But a moment's examination will show that the admission (that the presence of more competitors in the labor market would, under existing conditions, intensify the downward tendency of wages), does *not* involve the admission that to restrict such additional competition would check that tendency. It would merely leave the present downward tendency operating at its present rate of speed. It leaves the necessity for an enquiry into the causes of which that tendency is but the expression as great as ever, and a new element of danger is introduced into the situation by diverting the energy which should be expended in that enquiry into a wrong direction.

For example, if a railway train were being driven at half speed to a point where there was a broken bridge which would be reached, and the train wrecked, unless the engines were reversed at once, an engine driver who proposed merely *not to increase* the rate of speed could hardly claim much credit for sagacity. And the fact that he had taken every precaution to *prevent an increase* of speed would not entitle him to an excess of gratitude on the part of those passengers whose lives depended on the absolute stoppage of the train.

Or take another illustration—that of a ship at sea which has sprung a leak, and is taking in water faster than it can be pumped out. Suppose it is possible to stop the leak, and that a proposal to that effect is made, but overruled by the unanswerable argument that every gallon of water pumped out must check the tendency of the ship to founder, and that therefore the wise thing to do is to keep on pumping!

Can it not be seen that there are contingencies in ordinary life wherein *no course other than the right course* is of any practical avail? There are similar contingencies in national or political life; and the point of

these illustrations lies, as Jack Bunsby would say, in their application.

Is it not a fact patent to everyone who takes the trouble to think about the matter, that the downward tendency of wages is universal ?

The labor party can surely see this tendency in operation under circumstances in which no question of color could possibly be raised. What have shearers' strikes, miners' strikes, railway strikes and civil service strikes to do with the question of the admission of aliens ? Whence arises the seeming necessity for legislation to prevent the employment of women — white women — in operations for which they are physically unfit ? What has made it seem necessary to pass Acts to prevent the employment of children—white children—in factories (owned by white men) when they ought to be at school, or at play, or in bed ? Let us give the humanity and philanthropy of those good men who have agitated the pumping process instead of stopping the leak its just due ; but the greatest factor in the passage of all such legislation has been the dread, on the part of white laborers, of the competition of *white women and white children* ! A working man in

the prime of life, with a wife and family, finds his place taken by a lad, or a woman—at less wages than he was receiving. His own wife and children are then pressed into service to compete with those who have displaced him. Is there any question of color or race in a case like this? And is there any doubt that it is typical of thousands and thousands of cases? Ask any prominent man in the labor party.

But supposing all colored people were absolutely excluded from Australia; supposing even that all those who are now here were to be deported to-morrow; what effect would that have upon the tendency of wages? To say nothing of the commercial dislocation which such a step would cause, and which would affect a much greater number of white people than of colored, the only result would be to compel white men to do certain work, under conditions which their very color shows them to be less fitted for than colored men, without having the slightest effect upon the downward tendency of wages.

The unchecked immigration of Chinese or Japanese laborers would have the same effect

upon the Australian labor market as would the unchecked immigration of American, or British, or any other laborers. And the natural increase of our own population, even if we close the door to everybody, will produce exactly the same effect. Every white baby, of either sex, born in Australia, is a potential competitor in the labor market, and the effect of its competition will be exactly the same as if it came from another country.

Stern logic demands that the prohibition of colored immigration shall be followed, or accompanied, by the prohibition of all immigration. This will be admitted, privately, by every trades unionist in Australia, though their Parliamentary representatives dare not, as yet, expose the cloven hoof of a thorough-going, absolute anti-immigration policy.

The incident of the six English hatters was one of the first fruits of the Immigration Restriction Act, and threw a strong side-light upon the motives which led to its passage. A clause in that Act prohibits the entry of the Commonwealth of any laborers under contract from any foreign country. This clause was inserted at the instigation of the labor party, and its advocates.

leading feature in Mr. J. C. Watson's speech on the second reading of the Bill. But in spite of Mr. Barton's frequent assurances, during the debate, that the Act would be administered with "wise discrimination," and that the Federal Government might be trusted not to put its clauses into operation in cases where desirable "white" immigrants might seek admission into the Commonwealth, when six English hatters, who had been engaged by a Sydney hat manufacturer, arrived at Port Jackson, they were debarred from landing by Government officers charged with the administration of the Act. The Press took the matter up, and Sir Edmund Barton, after a most undignified attempt to justify the action of the Customs officers, saw fit to pardon the criminal intrusion of six British workmen into Australia, and decided to allow them to land. But it became evident that, both in Melbourne and in Sydney, Sir Edmund Barton had many supporters who would have been glad to see the men—their own countrymen, white men—kept out of the country, showing how little of racial consideration, and how much of industrial jealousy and there is in the "White Australia" movement.

So there seems to be little reason to doubt that the narrow-minded exclusiveness, the fear of competition which impels men to close the doors of their country to one description of immigrants, will lead them, in time, to demand the exclusion of all.

And what then? Imagine the policy of "Australia for the Australians" to be in full blast, what then? Would the downward tendency of wages be stopped, or would not the stage then be reached, when a man's industrial foes would be clearly enough recognized to be those of his own household? Would it not then be necessary to hold a labor conference, and having achieved a "white Australia," and placed a Chinese wall of exclusion around the continent, to advocate an amended labor platform, with "INFANTICIDE" writ large as the first plank?

From this position there can be no escape. It may suit certain classes of people in Australia to let working men be deluded into the belief that the Chinese, or the Japanese, or some other aliens, are their enemies; because workingmen represent a large and compact political force which has been proved to be

capable of accomplishing a good deal. If this force were guided by wise counsels; if the attention of laboring men were concentrated upon an earnest search for the real enemy of labor; then some antiquated wrongs in our social adjustments would have but a short shrift.

When Australians shall have discovered how to legislate—or *un*legislate—so that white workmen need not be afraid of the competition of each other, or of their own wives and families, they will then have inaugurated a condition of affairs under which they certainly need not fear anybody else.

It is beyond the scope of the present volume to enter into an elaborate exposition of the legislative methods which should be adopted to bring about this result; but a few words may be added by way of indicating the direction which such legislation, or *un*legislation, should take.

Suppose an uninhabited, but fertile, island—large enough to support in comfort a number of people equal to the present population of the Commonwealth—were discovered within a couple of days' sail of Australia, and were

taken possession of in the name of the King of England. Suppose also that, by some wise or miraculous means, it were decreed and arranged that the price of land on this island should never exceed one half of the price now obtaining in Australia, taking varying capacities and values into due consideration. Is it not clear that graziers, miners, farmers, and all persons capable of engaging in primary industries, who could reach that island, would have, at the outset, a 50 per cent. advantage over those who might embark in similar industries in Australia? And would not those who engage in the secondary industries—manufacturing, building, commerce, teaching, printing, etc.—be called into requisition immediately, and enjoy a similar advantage? Further, would not men who in Australia are now engaged in these occupations, but are barely making both ends meet; men who are struggling on at a loss in the hope of better times to come; and men who wish to start, but have not enough money to begin with—would not such as these strain every nerve to the newly discovered island? A of newly discovered lands; all r

"rushes," answer these questions in the affirmative. Then what effect would such a discovery as we are imagining have upon the Australian labor market?

Not only would there be a large demand for labor in the new country, at a higher rate of wages than now obtains in Australia, *because* of the lower price of land, but wages would immediately rise in Australia in consequence of the departure of so many laborers therefrom to meet the demand in the new settlement. Can any tariff, or any socialistic programme be imagined which would have so rapid and so beneficial an effect?

But, more than this, as land prices tend to fall in all places from which any considerable number of laborers emigrate, the effect would be the same as an additional advance in the rate of wages of those who remained. The price of land governs rent; in fact, economically speaking, the price of land *is* rent; and every rent payer will admit that a decrease in his rent would be equivalent to an increase in his wages.

The interests which imagine they would be adversely affected by the cheapening of

land—the land owning and land trafficking classes—are themselves threatened, even now, by existing circumstances. The financial crises of 1891 and 1893, in Australia, were the direct results of the antecedent land boom, which carried land speculation and land prices to a point at which it became impossible for production to proceed upon a paying basis. The crises brought the price of land down, and (in New South Wales) the land tax tended to keep it down; while the freetrade policy stimulated production and commerce, and obviated the necessity for confessing more than about half the inflation in land prices that had previously taken place.

But the merit of the land tax passed in New South Wales by Mr. G. H. Reid's Ministry lay in the fact that *it took the place of previously existing taxation which hampered production and decreased wages*. The terms of the Federal compact into which New South Wales was betrayed have, however, reinstated the burdens which Mr. Reid took off, and have converted the land tax from a measure of relief into an additional burden upon many of the struggling settlers.

If this iniquitous tariff policy be persisted in, nothing can prevent a financial collapse from overtaking Australia in the not very distant future, in which the very persons and corporations who now shudder at the prospect of having to confess that their existence depends upon keeping the land market up, and the labor market down, will be involved in much greater loss than a reversal of that policy would entail upon them; and under conditions infinitely more hopeless and disastrous.

The abolition of the Federal tariff (the administration of which is making Australia, commercially, a bye - word and a reproach among the nations) and the substitution therefor of a Federal land tax, without exemptions, or progressions, or graduations, would banish the nightmare of Kingstonism from the commerce of the Commonwealth, and would have the same effect upon the tendency of wages as would the discovery of a new continent *within the borders of Australia*. Those who are now holding valuable land out of use, in the expectation of realising prices for it which will *compel* those who wish to use it to reduce it to the lowest possible point; or, failing

that, are cherishing the hope that they may be enabled to unload upon the general public through the instrumentality of a Closer Settlement Act; would then have either to use the land themselves — thereby creating an immediate demand for labor and relieving the congestion of the labor market—or else to part with the land at a lower price to those who *would* use it.

It is objected that this course cannot be adopted under the Commonwealth Constitution. But this is not so. The Constitution Act is not like the laws of the Medes and Persians which could not be altered.

The labor party has it in its power to take the lead in this matter. Time will prove whether or not it has the courage or the sense to do so. But it is questionable whether it has any other course open to save it from absolute defeat by a coalition of conservative, reactionary and tyrannical forces against it.

But if it persists in disregarding the real enemies of Australian labor (which are Australian land monopoly, Australian protectionism, and Australian socialists) it persists in directing its heaviest

against Chinese market gardeners, Japanese pearl fishers, German bandsmen, Italian fruit vendors or organ grinders, Greek fishermen, or English hatters, then not even the harm which they will undoubtedly do to themselves and the community at large can hide the terrible ridiculousness of their position.



"While we see an expectation of benefits which the means used cannot achieve, we see no consciousness of injuries which will be entailed by these means. As usually happens with those absorbed in the eager pursuit of some good by governmental action, there is a blindness to the evil reaction on the natures of citizens."

Herbert Spencer.

STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY.

"He didn't know it was loaded."

Witness at Coroner's inquest.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SOME PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" INSANITY.

If a man suffering from indigestion were advised by his doctor to have several sound teeth drawn, and were to follow that advice, it is comparatively safe to assert that while his malady would be in no way mitigated by the dental operation, the man would suffer additional inconvenience from the loss of his sound teeth. Indeed, considering that good teeth are aids to mastication, and consequently to digestion, it is tolerably certain that the complaint would be made worse by the adoption of a particularly foolish method of treatment.

It does not matter, in the domain of medical science, how pure and good may be intentions of a doctor, nor how thoroughly he may be in his belief that the advice

he gives is right—if it happens to be wrong. The effect of a mistaken prescription upon a patient is the same as though the wrong mixture were administered deliberately, and with *malice prepense*.

The argument holds good in the domain of social science. The results of legislation depend, not upon the good or evil intentions of legislators, but upon their wisdom or folly. And, given a community wherein all political power is in the hands of persons, the majority of whom have never had the opportunity of mastering the first principles of political economy, and it must follow, as surely as night follows day, that the legislature will become composed, for the most part, of representatives who have made successful appeals to popular ignorance and prejudice.

Legislation reflects the character of the community which enacts it. A savage community will enact savage and barbarous laws, or will establish savage and barbarous customs. A timid and cowardly community will enact hysterical and cowardly laws. And these laws, while they remain in force, will tend to foster among the people the sentiments they express.

The passage of the "White Australia" legislation will have effects of two distinct kinds: 1st., upon the character of the Australian people; and 2nd., upon the feelings and actions of the people affected thereby towards Australia.

That it has already lowered the tone of the legislature which passed it is beyond question. That it has aroused no strong protest, with one or two exceptions, from public men outside of Queensland, is evidence of a perceptible deterioration in the public life of the Commonwealth. And, the Act having applied the term "undesirable" to all persons who are unable to pass an arbitrary and ignorant test, the unthinking, untravelled, and narrow-minded section of the Australian population have legislative warrant for imagining themselves superior to any of those who have been so stigmatised. This impression finds vent in the use of insulting epithets (with which the vocabulary of the Australian larrikin is only too replete) towards alien residents or visitors, and which epithets, low and disgusting though they are, it would be impossible for any

supporter of the Act to reprove without conscious hypocrisy.

It cannot be expected, however, even by the most prejudiced advocate of the Immigration Restriction Act, that its operation will be absolutely without effect upon the feelings of those who are affronted by it. Nor can it be expected, by anyone, that some steps will not be taken, by those who are in a position to take them, in the direction of reprisals. What objection could be urged, for instance, if the Government of Japan were to say: "Very well; Australia will not admit Japanese, therefore Japan will not admit Australians."

To the bulk of those who are in favor of the restrictive policy, this will seem, at first sight, to be a matter of no importance. But let it be considered for a moment. The volume of trade between Japan and European nations, including the United States of America, now amounts to a fairly respectable annual sum. And that the trade is advantageous to those Europeans and others who are engaged in it may be assumed from the fact of its increase and increase. In the carrying trade, many thousands of persons are

who, from time to time, have to visit Japan. Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Americans and Australians require to travel to and from Japan, and it is to the interests of their trade (which forms a part of what is called the national trade) that the intercourse between the countries should be as free and uninterrupted as possible. But, supposing Japan should say: "We will admit Englishmen, Americans, Germans and other Europeans, who have not slighted us as Australians have done, but we will not admit Australians." How are Japanese Customs officers to be able to discover whether "John Thompson," who arrives at a Japanese port, is an Englishman (whom they would admit), an American (whom they would admit) or an Australian (whom they might wish to exclude)? The only way would be to require *all* Europeans and Americans to provide themselves with passports, or certificates of their nationality. Would not such a step as this cause great irritation—not against the Japanese, whose motive could be easily explained and comprehended, but against *Australians*, whose absurd policy had resulted in hampering the trade operations of other

people with harassing and irritating conditions? Can Australia afford to take the position of a nation whose action has placed an obstacle of this kind in the way of a large part of the trade of the civilized world?

Then no one who watches carefully the trend of political matters, both in Australia and in Great Britain, can close his eyes to the possibility of events occurring which might result in the separation of Australia from the mother country. Where would Australia be, then; guided by counsellors of the calibre of those who know no more than to pass legislation of such a character as to unnecessarily insult and antagonise a friendly and powerful neighbor?

Again, suppose in the multifarious complexities of international diplomacy that existing international treaties should be subjected to re-arrangement. Cannot a moderately fertile imagination conceive difficulties and dangers of a most alarming character, which would be certain to affect Australia, and which could be traced, absolutely and directly, to the passage of this atrocious piece of legislative folly?

In whatever light the matter may be viewed, it stands conspicuous as the most short-sighted and dangerous Act which it would have been possible for the Australian Commonwealth to pass.



“And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.”

Leviticus xix., 33-34.

“Depart from me, ye cursed . . . for I was a stranger, and ye took me not in . . . Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to me.”

Matthew, xxv., 41, 43, 45.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCLUSION.

Throughout the whole of this book no attempt has been made to placate the color prejudice. It is a sentiment to be apologised *for*, not apologised *to*. It is for the man or woman who enunciates the doctrine that a dark skin is something to be abhorred, to show cause why he or she should not be committed for contempt in the Court of Common Sense.

The monstrous absurdity of the doctrine of trade restriction, miscalled "protection," has been handled too respectfully in the past. Its colossal impudence has never been done justice to. There is not a protectionist in the world who can show where, in ethics, the right of one man to interfere with another in the matter of buying and selling—exchanging the products of his labor for the products of some one else's labor—begins.

Protectionism is the fruitful parent of trades unionism (which, reduced to its lowest terms, is only the association of employed men against unemployed men), socialism, anti-immigration, national prejudice, class prejudice, color prejudice, and all their illegitimate brood. But, calmly viewed, the prejudice against a man's color is about the silliest emotion which a sentient being could cherish. There is more sense in religious bigotry than in colorphobia. For, to a certain extent, at least, a man is responsible for his religion; seeing that, if he chooses, he can change it. But he can no more help his color than he can help his height. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin," or "can any man, by taking much thought, add one cubit to his stature?" There is more excuse for the Russians, who are now carrying on the highly civilized pastime of "Jew-baiting"—massacring and mutilating men, women and children on account of their religion—than there is for the dusty, mottled, freckled, pimpled, nondescript-tinted beings, who call themselves "Whites," insulting people simply because of their color.

skins of a pronounced, and frequently a more presentable, hue.

H. D. Thoreau says: "A tanned skin is something more than respectable, and perhaps olive is a fitter color than white for a man. . . 'The pale white man!' I do not wonder that the African pitied him. Darwin the naturalist says, 'A white man bathing by the side of a Tahitian was like a plant bleached by the gardener's art, compared with a fine, dark green one, growing vigorously in the open fields.'"

The advocacy of a "White Australia," however, is not only absurd to the last degree; it is diabolical. It is an assertion of the right of men of one color to take a country away from people of another color, and then to refuse admission, on the grounds of their color only, to people of the same color as those who were dispossessed.

If this may be done in Australia, where may it not be done? Already the example of Australia is being followed in Africa, and "Federation" and a "White South Africa" are becoming political cries in that country. Fancy a white Africa! Why not a white India, and a white Ceylon!

It is nearly time that someone should ask the colorphobists one or two questions, and insist upon straightforward answers. For example: Do they think that the colored races have a right to exist anywhere? If not, how do they propose eventually to rid the earth of their presence? What means do they consider would be proper and moral and expedient to adopt in order to make the whole world white?

But if they think colored people may be allowed to live and move and have their being anywhere, will they condescend to say what part of the earth should be allocated to them? A white American might perhaps answer, so far as the American negro is concerned—Liberia. But is it not certain that, even if all the negroes were to be deported to Liberia, it would only be necessary for gold to be discovered there for the place to be overrun at once by white diggers, syndicate-men, company-promoters, and stock-jobbers, who would soon want to run the country, and who, with that object in view, would start an agitation for a white Liberia?

Australians make great efforts to trade. Their Parliaments borrow large sums of money

for the purpose of dredging harbors, building breakwaters, wharves, lighthouses, etc. They appoint commercial agents to the East—and then pass legislation which deliberately insults the very people with whom they are making all these efforts to trade!

The pious white Australian gives his children pennies to put into the Sunday School missionary box, for the purpose of converting the “heathen.” But even after they have been converted, he regards their presence as a degradation and a menace, and their creation as a blunder.

A country which is governed in such a contradictory and inconsistent fashion as this, is surely piling up trouble for itself in the future. Yet, to suggest the possibility of disaster overtaking one’s own nation as the result of persistence in courses which have been the forerunners of national decadence throughout all history, is to expose oneself to the cheap vituperation of the pseudo-patriot.

But the ruins of dead empires, the decline of nations which once dazzled the world with their magnificence and dominated it with their power, are not the results of accident or chance.

Nor is it necessary that one nation should fall that another may rise. All Christendom to-day prays: "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth" (that is, on the whole earth) "as it is in heaven;" prophets (many of them colored men) have spoken of, and looked forward to, the time when "the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord." There is not a professing Christian anywhere but must admit the inclusion of

. . . the heathen
of every tribe and nation

in the gospel plan of salvation. Which brings us to the remarkable position, that the alien may enter Heaven, but may not enter Australia!

Truly, the logic of this wonderful "White Australia" business leads us to some strange conclusions! Good enough to dwell for all eternity in Paradise with God Almighty, the archangels, the cherubim and seraphim, the spirits of just men made perfect, the glorious company of the apostles and the noble army of martyrs—but *not* good enough to dwell on the same continent with Mr. J. C. [redacted] and the Australian labor party!



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